SELECTION FROM THE LATIN LITERATURE OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

EDITED BY

A. C. B. BROWN, M.A.

FEREDAY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

ASSISTANT MASTER AT MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE

PART A: INNER LIFE

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1922

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

PA
6119
.A5
B8

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
HUMPHREY MILFORD
Publisher to the University

Printed in England

PREFACE

THIS Selection has been undertaken at the suggestion and with the help of the Rev. Hereford B. George, M.A., Fellow of New College, and, primarily, to serve as a textbook for the Oxford Local Examinations. The text is that of the Oxford Classical Texts, so far as the authors included in this book have appeared in that series. The following texts have been used, by kind permission, in cases where no Oxford Text exists:—Friedländer's Petronius, Ball's Seneca (Ludus), C. F. W. Mueller's Pliny (Teubner Edition).

The notes do not attempt to deal with questions of textual criticism or of syntax. The critical results arrived at by the editors of the texts employed have been taken for granted. And the best way of dealing with questions of syntax is to refer to one's grammar. The scope of the notes is therefore limited to the explanation of the subject-matter. An attempt has been made to exclude from them such things as may be discovered by any one who is prepared to use both his dictionary and his wits. The small Latin-English Dictionary of Gepp and Haigh has been used as a rough standard in measuring the amount of help that is forthcoming in a dictionary, but a few of the less common words which do occur in that book have been explained in the notes, in case they should be absent from other dictionaries. Analyses or paraphrases of whole passages have been avoided, except in one case (Juv. vii), on the view that the puzzling-out of the sense of whole passages without knowing beforehand exactly what they are about is a valuable element in classical training. A short heading has, however,

14746

been placed before each passage, to show how it illustrates the general idea of the section in which it is placed. It is hoped that this book will not add to the number of 'those editions of authors which are constructed upon the principle of supplying ready-made solutions of all difficulties, and thus reducing the study of Latin to a mere effort of memory exercised upon inferior materials' (Classical Association, Report of Curricula Committee, 1909, p. 14).

I have throughout consulted the standard editions of Juvenal (Mayor, Hardy), Horace (Wickham), Tacitus (Furneaux, Spooner, Peterson), Friedländer's 'Cena Trimalchionis', and Ball's edition of the 'Ludus' of Seneca. More especially is the book indebted in all its parts to the valuable criticisms and suggestions of Mr. George, to whom the whole has been submitted, and of Mr. H. E. Butler, Fellow of New College, who has read the proofs.

CONTENTS

PART A. INNER LIFE

PAGE

PREFACE 3

LIST OF CHIEF DATES 8

INTRODUCTION 9

TEXT :—

I. POLITICS

Domitian's Reign of Terror.

i. TAC. Agr. 2, 3, 45, 46 17

ii. JUV. Sat. iv 21

The Age of Tacitus.

iii. TAC. Hist. i. 1–4 28

The Deification of the Emperor.

iv. SENECA, Ludus, 9–12, 14, 15 33

An Episode of Provincial Administration :—
Pliny, Trajan, and the Christians.

v. PLINY, Ep. x. 96 (97), 97 (98) 42

Exile from Civilization.

vi. OVID, Tristia, iii. 2 45

II. EDUCATION

PAGE

Roman Education, Old and New.

i. TAC. Dial. 28–36 47

A Liberal Education.

ii. HOR. Sat. i. 6 58

III. LITERATURE

The Author to his Book.

i. HOR. Ep. i. 20 61

The Recitation.

ii. JUV. Sat. i. 63
iii. PLINY, Ep. i. 13 65
iv. PLINY, Ep. vi. 15 67

The Prospects of the Learned Professions in Rome.

v. JUV. Sat. vii. 69

The 'Inutility' of Literature.

vi. TAC. Dial. 9 83

A Scholar's Life.

vii. PLINY, Ep. iii. 5 86

A Scholar's Death.

viii. PLINY, Ep. vi. 16 90

IV. PHILOSOPHY

PAGE

Horace's Philosophy of Life.

i. HOR. Ep. i. 1 95

Avarice.

ii. HOR. Sat. i. 1. 101

'The Vanity of Human Wishes.'

iii. JUV. Sat. x. 106

INDEX NOMINUM 123

MAPS

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ITALY 16
ROME UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE . . . 120–21

LIST OF CHIEF DATES

Literary.

Horace, B.C. 65–8.
Satires, Book i. B.C. 35.
Satires, Book ii. B.C. 30.
Epistles, Book i. B C. 20.
Ovid, B.C. 43–A.D. 17.
His banishment, A.D. 8.
Tristia, A.D. 9–12.

Seneca, B.C. 4–A.D. 65.
Ludus, A.D. 54 or 55.
Petronius, died A.D. 66.

Martial, about A.D. 40–104.
Book ii. A.D. 86.
Books iii–xi. A.D. 87–96.
Book xii. A.D. 96.

Tacitus, about A.D. 55–120.
Dialogus, about A.D. 81.
Agricola, A.D. 98.
Histories, about A.D. 110.
Juvenal, about A.D. 60–140.
Satires i–v, between A.D. 100 and A.D. 116.
Satires vi, A.D. 116.
vii–ix, about A.D. 120.
x–xii, about A.D. 125.
Pliny the Younger, A.D. 62–about A.D. 113.
Books i–ix. A.D. 97–109.
Book x. A.D. 112 or 113.

Political.

Principate of Augustus
B.C. 27–A.D. 14.
Principate of Tiberius
A.D. 14–37.
Principate of Gaius (Caligula)
A.D. 37–41.
Principate of Claudius
A.D. 41–54.
Principate of Nero
A.D. 54–68.
'Year of Four Emperors'
(Galba—Otho—Vitellius—Vespasian)
A.D. 69.
Principate of Vespasian
A.D. 69–79.
Principate of Titus
A.D. 79–81.
Principate of Domitian
A.D. 81–96.
Principate of Nerva
A.D. 96–98.
Principate of Trajan
A.D. 98–117.
Principate of Hadrian
A.D. 117–138.

INTRODUCTION

I

ANY ONE reading for the first time an account of Domitian's Reign of Terror must wonder how it happened that the citizens of a state that was mistress of the world should have endured such tyranny at home. Why was it that what appears to be the grinding despotism of the imperial government was for a moment tolerated? The answer to this question requires a brief survey of earlier Roman history. The earliest form of Roman government of which a tradition exists is the kingship. Towards the end of the sixth century B. C. the tyrannical conduct of one of these kings led to the abolition of this form of government and the establishment of a republic, the highest powers of which were vested in two yearly magistrates called consuls. The other magistracies, which were established one by one, with less supreme functions, were always in the same fashion given to more than one at a time and for a limited period. It was under this form of government that Rome developed from an obscure city-state into the head of an empire including the whole of the Mediterranean basin. The result of the constitutional device by which the evils of despotism were avoided by having yearly co-ordinate magistrates, each of whom acted as a check on the others, was to bring the real power into the hands of the Senate. The Senate originally was merely an advisory council, but as the one permanent factor in a system of administration where so much was transient, it gradually developed into a powerful oligarchy. Under the senatorial system one man after another had his

turn at the top. It became the practice for men to work up through the lower magistracies, and provinces were committed to ex-magistrates. If a man was rapacious, his province suffered, if he was incompetent, his army was defeated: but, speaking generally, there was a fair amount of good administrative work done. Romans, like Englishmen, seem, on the whole, to have had an instinctive respect for law. But after giving the Senate due credit for the good points in its administration, we must admit that by the first century B.C. it had shown itself unequal to the task. Henceforth men began more clearly to see that efficiency demanded more concentration of power. So throughout the first century B.C. we find experiments, more or less tentative, being made in the direction of monarchy. First Marius, by a series of consulships, aided by his prestige as the deliverer of his country from the Cimbri and Teutones, then Sulla by means of an extended form of the dictatorship, an extraordinary autocratic magistracy which in the earlier republican period had only been employed in case of urgent military necessity, then Pompey by means of special laws giving him power to supersede the ordinary provincial governors in his wars against the pirates in the Mediterranean, and against Mithradates in the East: each pointed out a different path by which despotism could be attained. It was actually attained, though perhaps not from the first intended, by Julius Caesar, who first got a ten years' term of government in his province of Gaul, and then, under provocation from the action of his political enemies in Rome, with the powerful army thus trained stepped at once across the Rubicon, the boundary line of his province, and across that other boundary line which separates a republican subject from the aspirant to a despotic monarchy. Three years of civil war brought Rome and her empire to Caesar's feet, and we then find him trying to disguise an actual kingship by the

unconvincingly euphemistic title of *dictator*. The Ides of March taught his nephew, who after another period of civil war succeeded to Caesar's supremacy in the Roman world, to be more cautious, and to avoid a regal or quasi-regal attitude. So Octavian (Augustus) poses as a private individual with an honorary precedence over every one else, which he denotes by the title *princeps*. His constitutional position ultimately becomes that of the possessor of a number of powers and privileges belonging to various republican magistracies, which are conferred on him for life, and the possession of which gives him the control of the ordinary republican magistrates who are still allowed to exist. The *princeps* takes the Senate into partnership in the government of the world, and so there arises that partition of functions between the two which Mommsen has called the 'Dyarchy'. But the partners were unequally yoked from the first, and however sincere the deference which the best among the *principes* show to the Senate, the *princeps* is led by force of circumstances to become more and more the predominant partner. The transformation of the Roman government from an oligarchy to a despotism was now complete. The change had been chiefly due to personal ambition in the leaders of the opposing parties, which achieved successful results because it accorded with the changed conditions resulting from the development of a City State into a World Empire. Its success was also due in large measure to the sound sense which underlay Caesar's policy, a policy which found expression, to what extent we do not know, but probably to a large extent, in the acts of Augustus, who posed as his uncle's heir in all things. It may perhaps seem strange that the Senate acquiesced as easily as it did in the diminution of its powers. But the power of the *princeps* ultimately rested on the army, and, as Tacitus remarks (Ann. i. 2), every one was so tired of the civil wars which had raged

almost without cessation during the first three quarters of the first century B. C. that they were ready to accept anything for the sake of peace and quiet. Also the wise and prudent government of Augustus did much to consolidate the power of the *princeps*, so that when the senatorial opposition arose, as it did from time to time, the *princeps* had little difficulty in suppressing it. In fact, as time went on, the institution of the principate became so strong that the actual personality of the *princeps* mattered comparatively little. It made little difference to the world at large whether the supreme power was held by wise and competent men like Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan, or by a lunatic like Caligula and a debauchee like Nero. The personality of the *princeps* did matter a great deal to the senatorial aristocracy who dwelt beneath the shadow of the Palatine. But away from Rome the 'pax Romana' and upright provincial administration remain constant, except for one brief interval, in spite of the varying scenes of atrocity in the capital. The literature of the Early Empire, with few exceptions, focuses our attention on the life of the metropolis. But we must not forget, and we have the inscriptions to remind us, that outside the tainted air of Rome there existed a larger and a healthier life: that under the Principate Roman history ceases to be the history of a town and becomes that of an empire, and that even under a Nero and a Domitian Rome remained true to her ideal,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
> Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

II

The difference between the Rome of the middle of the third century B. C. and that of the opening of the Christian era does not consist merely in the change of the form of government. This great political change was involved in

the social and economic transformation of Italy, which begins in the first half of the second century B. C. At the time of the Punic Wars the mainstay of the Roman state was the class of yeoman who cultivated the land in time of peace and formed the backbone of the legions in time of war, the stubborn brood who, a century before, had vanquished the Samnites. As long as Italian agriculture flourished, the mass of Roman citizens remained hardy and ready for war. But the conquest of Italy led to the accumulation of large public domains which fell into the hands of capitalists who either turned them into pasture or cultivated them by means of slaves. The independent class of small farmers was gradually eliminated, and capitalism, working through slave-labour, proved the ruin of Italy ('Latifundia perdidere Italiam'). The result was that the yeoman class of Italy tended to drift into Rome and to swell the ranks of the city rabble. The population of Rome was also increased by the large influx of Greeks and Orientals which first set in when, at the end of the first quarter of the second century B. C., Rome had become the chief power of the Eastern Mediterranean. These immigrants in many cases no doubt found employment in medicine, education, art, the stage, among other things, and went some way also towards monopolizing the shady or vicious professions. But they must too often have added to the number of the unemployed. The political importance of this rabble in an age when political questions so often found their solution in street fights led to the pampering of the city multitude by food supplies and shows provided at the expense of the State or very frequently of individual magistrates. The corn-doles were started by Gaius Gracchus (B. C. 123) and continued off and on till the time of Caesar, who, by limiting them to those who really needed them, transformed a system of political bribery into an institution of poor

relief. Under the Principate such bounties were widely extended, and at the end of the first century A. D. we find Juvenal (A. IV. iii. 80, 81 in this book), in his description of the fall of Seianus in A. D. 31, lamenting that the people which once ruled the world is quite content if it can get two things, bread and circus-games ('panem et circenses').

Such was the state of the lower classes of the free population of the capital, which mingled with and became contaminated by the constantly increasing number of Greek and Oriental slaves and freedmen. But foreign influence was no less strongly exerted upon the wealthier classes. Here the old Roman traditions of discipline and economy were broken down by the luxury which continually increased as new conquests brought in fresh tribute of wealth and slaves. In the best period of the Republic stringent laws had restricted the amount of silver plate and the kinds of food which might be placed on a Roman dinner-table. These laws remained during the period of degeneration, but were ignored, in spite of spasmodic efforts to enforce them. Under the Principate the luxury of the table, and indeed luxury of all kinds, developed to an extent which is almost incredible, and forms a stock subject of contemporary history and satire.

In religion, no less than in manners, we see foreign influences at work. The rustic worship of the Lares and Penates, the deification of abstract qualities, and the assignment of the ordinary acts of daily life each to the patronage of its own special divinity, were despised as a creed outworn by those who had made acquaintance with Hellenic religion and theology. The abstract character of the native Roman religion of itself facilitated the amalgamation of the Roman with the Greek gods and goddesses by means of a series of equations (Jupiter = Zeus, Minerva = Athena, Venus = Aphrodite, &c.). And those who sought a more sensational

worship than the Hellenic Olympus provided found it in the cults of the East and of Egypt, which from the end of the third century B. C. had begun to find a home in Italy. Under the Principate these religions found favour with many, owing to their sacramental mysteries and the hope which they offered of immortality.

Thus all classes at Rome, the highest and lowest alike, had adopted a cosmopolitan character, in which the old-fashioned virtues of the city-state of Italian yeomen no longer appear. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the change was pure loss. The old Roman character, with its narrow prudential virtues and its police restraint of vice, had something to gain from the wider horizons opened to it by Hellenic intellect and culture. How great this gain was may be seen from the characters and writings of the great men of the Augustan age, and from such men as Seneca and Agricola in the following century.

We have no reason to doubt either the reality of the luxury, vice, and extravagance of Rome or the fact, to which we have already referred (p. 12), that provincial life was much purer and simpler. The same thing is plainly visible in the modern world, perhaps more obviously in France than in any other nation possessing a great and wealthy capital. Novels and other literature make familiar the luxury and vice of Paris, but they leave more or less out of sight the decent domestic life which prevails in the provinces and is wide-spread, though not so conspicuous, in Paris. Both aspects of life are true alike of modern France and of imperial Rome.

Volsinii
ETRURIA
Tiberis Fl.
Fidenae
ROMA
Varia
Tibur
Gabii
Praeneste
Tusculum
Aricia
Alba
Ulubrae
Setia
Paludes Pomptinae
Forum Appi
Fundi
Anxur
Circei
MARSI
SAMNIUM
Venafrum
Teanum Sidicinum
Formiae
Sinuessa
Capua
Beneventum
Trivicum
Caudium
CAMPANIA
Herculaneum
Vesuvius
Cumae
Prochyta
Misenum
Pompeii
Stabiae
Capreae
APULIA
Canusium
Rubi
Barium
Venusia
Gnatia
Brundisium
Tarentum
LUCANIA
LIBURNI
Ravenna
Ancona
Roma
Beneventum
Brundisium
Tarentum
Liparaeae Ins.
SICILIA
Tauromenium
Syracusae
CENTRAL & SOUTHERN
ITALY
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910.

A. I. POLITICS

Domitian's Reign of Terror

i

LEGIMVS, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

Nunc demum redit animus; sed quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabilis miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque cotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur. quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi spatium, multi

fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci et, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedis, tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et Massa Baebius iam tum reus erat: mox nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione innocentiam principi donares. sed mihi filiaeque eius praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam, quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari vultu complexuque non contigit. excepissemus certe mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus. noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est. omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantissima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen lacrimis

comploratus es, et novissima in luce desideravere aliquid oculi tui.

Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae, placide quiescas, nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo desiderio et muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est. admiratione te potius et inmortalibus laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus: is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. id filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia intercedendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere fingantur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra vultus inbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis. quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum, in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

Tac. *Agric.* 2, 3, 45, 46.

NOTES

Line 1. Arulenus Rusticus was put to death, probably in A. D. 93, for having in his biography called Thrasea *sanctus*. For Thrasea and Helvidius see note on A. I. iii. 44.

7 f. *expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus*. The offence of Arulenus seems to have led to a general banishment of philosophers, which took place in Pliny's praetorship (Plin. Ep. iii. 11), probably A. D. 93.

17. The accession of Nerva (A. D. 96) brought the Reign of Terror to an end, and removed the gag from literature. Nerva was succeeded in A. D. 98 by Trajan (l. 19).

39 ff. Carus Metius, a famous *delator*, the accuser of Senecio (cf. line 1 above), Fannia (Plin. Ep. vii. 19), and others. Messalinus, the blind *delator* described by Juvenal (iv. 113–22, A. I. ii. 76–85 in this book), and by Pliny (Ep. iv. 22 'qui luminibus captus ingenio saevo mala caecitatis addiderat'). Massa Baebius is described by Tacitus (Hist. iv. 50) as 'iam tunc (A. D. 70) optimo cuique exitiosus et inter causas malorum quae mox tulimus saepius rediturus'. The *arx Albana* is Domitian's villa at Alba.

41. *nostrae duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus*. The Flavian emperors as a rule preferred to get their victims condemned in the senatorial court. Gaius, Claudius, and Nero, on the other hand, had employed the imperial court, and it was probably the odium thus brought upon the latter court which caused the change. Tacitus himself, as a member of the senate, must have taken part in these judicial murders.

52. *innocentiam principi donares*. By insisting that his illness was natural Agricola strove to free Domitian from the charge of having poisoned him. As Tacitus himself admits, (c. 43 § 2) there was no evidence, beyond the exceptional interest which the *princeps* took in the bulletins, to show that Domitian did so.

58. *absentiae*: during which Tacitus held some governorship. We do not know what it was.

63. This doctrine of the limitation of immortality to the great and good was held by the Stoic Chrysippus.

ii

Cvm iam semianimum laceraret Flavius orbem
ultimus et calvo serviret Roma Neroni,
incidit Adriaci spatium admirabile rhombi
ante domum Veneris, quam Dorica sustinet Ancon,
implevitque sinus; nec enim minor haeserat illis
quos operit glacies Maeotica ruptaque tandem
solibus effundit torrentis ad ostia Ponti
desidia tardos et longo frigore pingues.
destinat hoc monstrum cumbae linique magister
pontifici summo. quis enim proponere talem
aut emere auderet, cum plena et litora multo
delatore forent? dispersi protinus algae
inquisitores agerent cum remige nudo,
non dubitaturi fugitivum dicere piscem
depastumque diu vivaria Caesaris, inde
elapsum veterem ad dominum debere reverti.
si quid Palfurio, si credimus Armillato,
quidquid conspicuum pulchrumque est aequore toto,
res fisci est, ubicumque natat. donabitur ergo,
ne pereat. iam letifero cedente pruinis
autumno, iam quartanam sperantibus aegris
stridebat deformis hiems praedamque recentem
servabat. tamen hic properat, velut urgueat auster.
utque lacus suberant, ubi quamquam diruta servat
ignem Troianum et Vestam colit Alba minorem,
obstitit intranti miratrix turba parumper.
ut cessit, facili patuerunt cardine valvae;
exclusi spectant admissa obsonia patres.
itur ad Atriden. tum Picens 'accipe' dixit
'privatis maiora focis. genialis agatur
iste dies, propera stomachum laxare sagina,
et tua servatum consume in saecula rhombum.

ipse capi voluit.' quid apertius? et tamen illi
surgebant cristae; nihil est quod credere de se
non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas.
sed derat pisci patinae mensura. vocantur
ergo in consilium proceres, quos oderat ille,
in quorum facie miserae magnaeque sedebat
pallor amicitiae. primus clamante Liburno
'currite, iam sedit' rapta properabat abolla
Pegasus, attonitae positus modo vilicus urbi.
anne aliud tum praefecti? quorum optimus atque
interpres legum sanctissimus omnia quamquam
temporibus diris tractanda putabat inermi
iustitia. venit et Crispi iucunda senectus,
cuius erant mores qualis facundia, mite
ingenium. maria ac terras populosque regenti
quis comes utilior, si clade et peste sub illa
saevitiam damnare et honestum adferre liceret
consilium? sed quid violentius aure tyranni,
cum quo de pluviis aut aestibus aut nimboso
vere locuturi fatum pendebat amici?
ille igitur numquam derexit bracchia contra
torrentem, nec civis erat qui libera posset
verba animi proferre et vitam inpendere vero.
sic multas hiemes atque octogensima vidit
solstitia, his armis illa quoque tutus in aula.
proximus eiusdem properabat Acilius aevi
cum iuvene indigno, quem mors tam saeva maneret
et domini gladiis tam festinata; sed olim
prodigio par est in nobilitate senectus,
unde fit ut malim fraterculus esse gigantis.
profuit ergo nihil misero quod comminus ursos
figebat Numidas Albana nudus harena
venator. quis enim iam non intellegat artes
patricias? quis priscum illud miratur acumen,

Brute, tuum? facile est barbato inponere regi.
nec melior vultu quamvis ignobilis ibat
Rubrius, offensae veteris reus atque tacendae.
Montani quoque venter adest abdomine tardus,
et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo
quantum vix redolent duo funera, saevior illo
Pompeius tenui iugulos aperire susurro,
et qui vulturibus servabat viscera Dacis
Fuscus marmorea meditatus proelia villa,
et cum mortifero prudens Veiento Catullo,
qui numquam visae flagrabat amore puellae,
grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum,
caecus adulator, dirusque a ponte satelles
dignus Aricinos qui mendicaret ad axes
blandaque devexae iactaret basia raedae.
nemo magis rhombum stupuit; nam plurima dixit
in laevom conversus, at illi dextra iacebat
belua. sic pugnas Cilicis laudabat et ictus
et pegma et pueros inde ad velaria raptos.
non cedit Veiento, sed ut fanaticus oestro
percussus, Bellona, tuo divinat et 'ingens
omen habes' inquit 'magni clarique triumphi.
regem aliquem capies, aut de temone Britanno
excidet Arviragus. peregrina est belua, cernis
erectas in terga sudes.' hoc defuit unum
Fabricio patriam ut rhombi memoraret et annos.
'quidnam igitur censes? conciditur?' 'absit ab illo
dedecus hoc' Montanus ait, 'testa alta paretur,
quae tenui muro spatiosum colligat orbem.
debetur magnus patinae subitusque Prometheus.
argillam atque rotam citius properate, sed ex hoc
tempore iam, Caesar, figuli tua castra sequantur.'
vicit digna viro sententia. noverat ille
luxuriam imperii veterem noctesque Neronis

iam medias aliamque famem, cum pulmo Falerno
arderet. nulli maior fuit usus edendi
tempestate mea ; Circeis nata forent an
Lucrinum ad saxum Rutupinove edita fundo
ostrea callebat primo deprendere morsu,
et semel aspecti litus dicebat echini.
surgitur et misso proceres exire iubentur
consilio, quos Albanam dux magnus in arcem
traxerat attonitos et festinare coactos
tamquam de Chattis aliquid torvisque Sycambris
dicturus, tamquam ex diversis partibus orbis
anxia praecipiti venisset epistula pinna.
atque utinam his potius nugis tota illa dedisset
tempora saevitiae, claras quibus abstulit urbi
inlustresque animas impune et vindice nullo.
sed periit postquam cerdonibus esse timendus
coeperat. hoc nocuit Lamiarum caede madenti.

Juv. *Sat.* iv.

NOTES

Line 1. The Flavian dynasty occupied the Principate from A. D. 69 to A. D. 96. The last of the line was Domitian (A. D. 81–96), who was as tyrannical and disreputable as Nero (A. D. 54–68). Unlike Nero, he was bald (*calvo*).

3. *rhombi.* Turbot do not seem to be found in the Adriatic now.

10. The office of 'Pontifex Maximus' had been taken over by Augustus, and was regularly held by his successors in the Principate.

10–19. The *fiscus* was the imperial treasury, as distinguished from the senatorial *aerarium Saturni.* The *fiscus* included the private property of the Princeps, or rather the *fiscus* was itself regarded as his private property. The activity of the *delatores* in claiming property for the *fiscus* is here satirized.

24. Domitian had a villa at Alba Longa. Alba had been destroyed (*diruta*), with the exception of its temples, by Tullus Hostilius (Livy i. 29). The temple of Vesta, small (*minorem*, l. 25) by comparison with that at Rome, was said to contain the sacred fire brought by Aeneas from Troy.

42. The inefficiency of the old republican magistrates had made it necessary for Augustus, after various experiments, to place the government of the city in the hands of his own *praefecti.* Of these the chief were the *praefectus urbis*, who was responsible for the maintenance of order at Rome, the *praefectus praetorio*, whose chief function was the all-important command of the Praetorian Guard, the *praefectus annonae*, who looked after the corn-supply, and the *praefectus vigilum* who kept watch over the city at night und was specially charged with the prevention and extinction of fires. Of these the *praefectus urbis* was a senator, the rest normally *equites.* These officers, the instruments of the personal government of the Princeps, are compared with the *vilici* of a private landlord (l. 41).

45. Crispus is described by Tacitus (Hist. ii. 10) as 'pecunia, potentia, ingenio inter claros magis quam inter bonos', and is mentioned as being a friend of Vespasian who could bring into his presence something (i. e. his eloquence) which he did not owe to the Princeps (Tac. Dial. 8). Although his *mite ingenium* is shown, on a small scale, by the fun which he poked at Domitian's fly-killing propensities (Suet. Dom. 3), he was, what we should not have suspected from Juvenal's account of him, a notorious *delator.*

59. The younger Acilius Glabrio was put to death with several other senators 'quasi molitores rerum novarum' (Suet. Dom. 10). We gather from lines 63 ff. that he attempted to escape by

appearing, with feigned madness, in the arena. But the trick of feigned madness, successfully carried out by Brutus, the Liberator of Rome from the Tarquins (Livy i. 56), was of no avail against Domitian.

71. Crispinus, a native of Egypt, made an *eques* and perhaps praetorian prefect by Domitian. Juvenal (i. 26 ff.) says that it is hard not to write satire when Crispinus, a native of Canopus, goes about hitching up a mantle of Tyrian purple, and wearing a specially light ring in summer to keep his fingers cool.

74. Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect under Domitian (Suet. Dom. 6), conducted the war against the Dacian Decebalus which began in A. D. 86. The following year he pursued the Dacians across the Danube and was killed.

76. Fabricius Veiento was in A. D. 62 accused of making scurrilous comments on the Senate and the priests in a document which he was pleased to call his will. It was also asserted that he sold his influence with Nero to those who wished to obtain office (Tac. Ann. xiv. 50). He was exiled from Italy, and his book ordered to be burnt, which for a time greatly enhanced the interest with which it was read. Under Domitian he became prosperous as a *delator* (cf. Juv. iii. 185; B. III. iv. 31 in this book). We know from Pliny (Ep. iv. 22) that on one occasion when he was dining at Nerva's table during the Principate of the latter, Iunius Mauricus was asked by his host what would have happened to Catullus Messalinus (the blind *delator* mentioned with Veiento here), if he had lived. Mauricus answered, 'He would be dining with us.'

79. *a ponte*: the usual haunt of beggars. Cf. Juv. Sat. v. 8 (B. I. v. 8 in this book).

84. *Cilicis*: a gladiator dressed to represent a Cilician pirate.

90. *Arviragus*. Nothing is known of any British chieftain of that name; but Agricola's campaign in Britain lasted till A. D. 84, and some of the chiefs opposed to him may well have been known by name at Rome.

101. *aliam famem*: caused by the use of emetics.

110. The Chatti lived in the Taunus region (the high ground above the modern Wiesbaden). In A. D. 83 Domitian in person led the army against them, and celebrated his victory by a triumph and the assumption of the name Germanicus. Five years later, when L. Antonius Saturninus the governor of Upper Germany revolted, he counted on the support of the Chatti. This was rendered inoperative by the sudden thawing of the ice on the Rhine, which prevented them from crossing. The Sycambri dwelt to the west of the Chatti. The present passage, so far as it goes, is the only evidence we have of war against them under Domitian.

CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

116. Domitian was murdered by the freedman Stephanus on Sept. 18, A.D. 96. The conspiracy against him was organized in concert with his wife Domitia, but the nobles who had suffered so much from Domitian's tyranny took no part in it. The Lamiae (l. 117) are taken as types of the nobility. We hear from Suetonius (Dom. 10) that Aelius Lamia was put to death for some harmless jokes at the expense of Domitian, who had carried off and married his wife.

iii. *The Age of Tacitus*

INITIVM mihi operis Servius Galba iterum Titus Vinius consules erunt. nam post conditam urbem octingentos et viginti prioris aevi annos multi auctores rettulerunt, dum res populi Romani memorabantur pari eloquentia ac libertate: postquam bellatum apud Actium atque omnem potentiam ad unum conferri pacis interfuit, magna illa ingenia cessere; simul veritas pluribus modis infracta, primum inscitia rei publicae ut alienae, mox libidine adsentandi aut rursus odio adversus dominantis: ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos vel obnoxios. sed ambitionem scriptoris facile averseris, obtrectatio et livor pronis auribus accipiuntur; quippe adulationi foedum crimen servitutis, malignitati falsa species libertatis inest. mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti. dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim: sed incorruptam fidem professis neque amore quisquam et sine odio dicendus est. quod si vita suppeditet, principatum divi Nervae et imperium Traiani, uberiorem securioremque materiam, senectuti seposui, rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet.

Opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace saevum. quattuor principes ferro interempti: trina bella civilia, plura externa ac plerumque permixta: prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res: turbatum Illyricum, Galliae nutantes, perdomita Britannia et statim omissa: coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes, nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus, mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio. iam vero Italia novis cladibus vel post longam saeculorum seriem

repetitis adflicta. haustae aut obrutae urbes, fecundissima Campaniae ora et urbs incendiis vastata, consumptis antiquissimis delubris, ipso Capitolio civium manibus incenso. pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria: plenum exiliis mare, infecti caedibus scopuli. atrocius in urbe saevitum: nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine et ob virtutes certissimum exitium. nec minus praemia delatorum invisa quam scelera, cum alii sacerdotia et consulatus ut spolia adepti, procurationes alii et interiorem potentiam, agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore. corrupti in dominos servi, in patronos liberti; et quibus deerat inimicus per amicos oppressi.

Non tamen adeo virtutum sterile saeculum ut non et bona exempla prodiderit. comitatae profugos liberos matres, secutae maritos in exilia coniuges: propinqui audentes, constantes generi, contumax etiam adversus tormenta servorum fides; supremae clarorum virorum necessitates fortiter toleratae et laudatis antiquorum mortibus pares exitus. praeter multiplices rerum humanarum casus caelo terraque prodigia et fulminum monitus et futurorum praesagia, laeta tristia, ambigua manifesta; nec enim umquam atrocioribus populi Romani cladibus magisve iustis indiciis adprobatum est non esse curae deis securitatem nostram, esse ultionem.

Ceterum antequam destinata componam, repetendum videtur qualis status urbis, quae mens exercituum, quis habitus provinciarum, quid in toto terrarum orbe validum, quid aegrum fuerit, ut non modo casus eventusque rerum, qui plerumque fortuiti sunt, sed ratio etiam causaeque noscantur. finis Neronis ut laetus primo gaudentium impetu fuerat, ita varios motus animorum non modo in urbe apud patres aut populum aut urbanum militem, sed omnis legiones ducesque conciverat, evulgato imperii arcano posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri. sed patres laeti, usurpata statim libertate licentius ut erga principem novum et absentem; primores equitum proximi gaudio patrum; pars populi integra et ma-

gnis domibus adnexa, clientes libertique damnatorum et exulum in spem erecti: plebs sordida et circo ac theatris sueta, simul deterrimi servorum, aut qui adesis bonis per dedecus Neronis alebantur, maesti et rumorum avidi.

TAC. *Hist.* i. 1–4.

NOTES

Line 1. Tacitus begins the 'Histories' from A. D. 69, 822 years (Tacitus's 820 is a round number) from the date accepted by the Romans for the foundation of the city.

14 f. Tacitus may have been appointed *tribunus militum laticlavus* by Vespasian. This was the lowest step in the senatorial career. He may also have been quaestor under Titus. We know from Ann. xi. 11 that in A. D. 88 he was quindecimvir and praetor. He became consul in A. D. 97, under Nerva.

17 ff. Tacitus never carried out his plan of continuing the 'Histories' so as to include the principates of Nerva and Trajan. His other project (Ann. iii. 24) of supplementing the 'Annals' by an account of Augustus's principate also remained unfulfilled. The 'Histories', in its complete form, embraced the year of the Four Emperors and the Flavian Dynasty (A. D. 69–96), and consisted of twelve or fourteen books. Of these we only possess the first four and a fragment of the fifth, dealing with the years 69 and 70 A. D.

22. *ipsa etiam pace saevum* refers to the activity of the *delatores* in the last years of Domitian.

22 f. *quattuor principes ferro interempti*: Galba (A. D. 69), killed by his soldiers; Otho (A. D. 69), committed suicide after Vitellius's victory at Bedriacum; Vitellius (A. D. 69), killed in the sack of Rome by the Flavian soldiery; Domitian (A. D. 96), murdered by the freedman Stephanus. Some omit Domitian from the list, on the ground that his death came so long after the others, and substitute Nero. But the death of Nero falls outside the period of the 'Histories'.

23. *trina bella civilia.*

(1) Galba *v.* Otho
(2) Otho *v.* Vitellius
(3) Vitellius *v.* Vespasian
} A. D. 69.

Some exclude (1) from the list, and substitute the Revolt of Saturninus under Domitian, A. D. 88, but the other view seems more natural.

24 ff. *prosperae in Oriente, adversae in Occidente res.* The first part of the clause refers to the Jewish War which ended in the capture of Jerusalem, A. D. 70: the last part to the revolt of Civilis in Lower Germany, and to the Gallic revolt headed by Classicus and Tutor (*Galliae nutantes*). *turbatum Illyricum.* The legions of Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia supported Otho (Tac. Hist. i. 76). They afterwards joined Vespasian (ibid. ii. 85). *perdomita Britannia et statim omissa.* Tacitus naturally exaggerates the results of his father-in-law Agricola's campaign in Britain (A. D. 78–84). The evacuation

of Northern Britain on the recall of Agricola was probably due to finance rather than to personal jealousy on the part of Domitian. *coortae in nos Sarmatarum ac Sueborum gentes.* A war against these races was finished by Domitian in A. D. 92.

27. *nobilitatus cladibus mutuis Dacus.* The Dacians under Decebalus defeated Oppius Sabinus, the legate of Moesia, in A. D. 86, and Cornelius Fuscus, praetorian prefect, in the following year. In A. D. 89, however, Julianus defeated them at Tapae, and Domitian held a triumph. The conquest of Dacia was not completed till A. D. 105, when the Dacians were crushed by Trajan, and Dacia made a province. *mota prope etiam Parthorum arma falsi Neronis ludibrio.* From Suet. 57 we learn that twenty years after Nero's death, i. e. in A. D. 88, there arose a man professing to be Nero, who was strongly supported by the Parthians, and only given up with reluctance.

30 f. *haustae aut obrutae urbes*: by the eruption of Vesuvius in A. D. 79, which buried the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. *hausta* may perhaps refer to a tidal wave accompanying the earthquake.

31. *urbs incendiis vastata.* The Capitol was burnt by the Vitellians when Flavius Sabinus was besieged there in Dec. 69 A. D. There was another great fire, in which the restored temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was burnt, in A. D. 80, under Titus.

33. *plenum exiliis mare.* Banishment to islands was common under the Empire. Cf. Juv. i. 73 f. 'Aude aliquid brevibus Gyaris et carcere dignum, si vis esse aliquid'; ib. x. 170 (A. IV. iii. 170) 'ut Gyarae clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho'.

35. *omissi gestique honores.* Herennius Senecio (Dio Cassius 67, 13) was put to death by Domitian for not having stood for any office higher than the quaestorship.

43. *secutae maritos in exilia coniuges*: e. g. Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus, who 'bis maritum secuta in exilium est, tertio ipsa propter maritum relegata' (Plin. Ep. vii. 19).

44. *constantes generi*: e. g. Helvidius Priscus himself, who exhibited against Vespasian's government the same untimely ultra-republican opposition which his father-in-law Thrasea had with better reason shown to Nero's. He was put to death by order of Vespasian, who, when it was too late, tried to prevent the execution.

60. *evulgato imperii arcano*: in the proclamation of Galba as Emperor by the sixth legion in Spain (A. D. 68).

iv. *The Deification of the Emperor*

TANDEM Iovi venit in mentem, privatis intra curiam morantibus sententiam dicere non licere nec disputare. 'Ego' inquit 'p. c. interrogare vobis permiseram, vos mera mapalia fecistis. Volo ut servetis disciplinam curiae. Hic qualiscunque est, quid de nobis existimabit?' illo dimisso primus interrogatur sententiam Ianus pater. Is designatus erat in kal. Iulias postmeridianus consul, homo quantumvis vafer, qui semper videt ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω. Is multa diserte, quod in foro vivat, dixit, quae notarius persequi non potuit et ideo non refero, ne aliis verbis ponam, quae ab illo dicta sunt. Multa dixit de magnitudine deorum: non debere hunc vulgo dari honorem. 'Olim' inquit 'magna res erat deum fieri: iam famam mimum fecisti. Itaque ne videar in personam, non in rem dicere sententiam, censeo ne quis post hunc diem deus fiat ex his qui ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν aut ex his quos alit ζείδωρος ἄρουρα. Qui contra hoc senatus consultum deus factus, dictus pictusve erit, eum dedi Larvis et proximo munere inter novos auctoratos ferulis vapulare placet.' Proximus interrogatur sententiam Diespiter Vicae Potae filius, et ipse designatus consul, nummulariolus: hoc quaestu se sustinebat, vendere civitatulas solebat. Ad hunc belle accessit Hercules et auriculam illi tetigit. Censet itaque in haec verba: 'cum divus Claudius et divum Augustum sanguine contingat nec minus divam Augustam aviam suam, quam ipse deam esse iussit, longeque omnes mortales sapientia antecellat, sitque e re publica esse aliquem qui cum Romulo possit "ferventia rapa vorare," censeo uti divus Claudius ex hac die deus sit, ita uti ante eum quis optimo iure factus sit, eamque rem ad Metamorphosis Ovidii adiciendam.' Variae erant sententiae, et videbatur Claudius sententiam vincere. Hercules enim, qui videret ferrum suum in igne esse, modo huc modo illuc cur-

sabat et aiebat: 'noli mihi invidere, mea res agitur; deinde tu si quid volueris, invicem faciam; manus manum lavat.'

Tunc divus Augustus surrexit sententiae suae loco dicendae et summa facundia disseruit: 'ego' inquit 'p. c. vos testes habeo, ex quo deus factus sum, nullum me verbum fecisse: semper meum negotium ago. Et non possum amplius dissimulare et dolorem, quem graviorem pudor facit, continere. In hoc terra marique pacem peperi? ideo civilia bella compescui? ideo legibus urbem fundavi, operibus ornavi, ut— quid dicam p. c. non invenio: omnia infra indignationem verba sunt. Confugiendum est itaque ad Messallae Corvini, disertissimi viri, illam sententiam "pudet imperii." Hic, p. c., qui vobis non posse videtur muscam excitare, tam facile homines occidebat, quam canis adsidit. Sed quid ego de tot ac talibus viris dicam? non vacat deflere publicas clades intuenti domestica mala. Itaque illa omittam, haec referam. Iste quem videtis, per tot annos sub meo nomine latens, hanc mihi gratiam rettulit, ut duas Iulias proneptes meas occideret, alteram ferro, alteram fame, unum abnepotem L. Silanum. Videris, Iuppiter, an in causa mala, certe in tua, si aecus futurus es. Dic mihi, dive Claudi, quare quemquam ex his, quos quasque occidisti, antequam de causa cognosceres, antequam audires, damnasti? hoc ubi fieri solet? in caelo non fit. Ecce Iuppiter, qui tot annos regnat, uni Volcano crus fregit, et iratus fuit uxori et suspendit illam: numquid occidit? tu Messalinam, cuius aeque avunculus maior eram quam tuus, occidisti. "Nescio" inquis. Di tibi male faciant: adeo istuc turpius est, quod nescisti, quam quod occidisti. Hunc nunc deum facere vultis? videte corpus eius dis iratis natum. Ad summam, tria verba cito dicat, et servum me ducat. Hunc deum quis colet? quis credet? dum tales deos facitis, nemo vos deos esse credet. Summa rei, p. c., si honeste me inter vos gessi, si nulli clarius respondi, vindicate iniurias meas. Ego pro sententia mea hoc

censeo': atque ita ex tabella recitavit: 'quando quidem divus Claudius occidit socerum suum Appium Silanum, uxorem suam Messalinam et ceteros quorum numerus iniri non potuit, placet mihi in eum severe animadverti nec illi rerum iudicandarum vacationem dari eumque quam primum exportari et caelo intra triginta dies excedere, Olympo intra diem tertium.'

Pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est. Nec mora, Cyllenius illum collo obtorto trahit ad inferos

unde negant redire quemquam.

Dum descendunt per viam Sacram, interrogat Mercurius, quid sibi velit ille concursus hominum, num Claudii funus esset? et erat omnium formosissimum et impensa cura, plane ut scires deum efferri: tubicinum, cornicinum, omnis generis aeneatorum tanta turba, tantus concentus, ut etiam Claudius audire posset. Omnes laeti, hilares: populus Romanus ambulabat tanquam liber. Agatho et pauci causidici plorabant, sed plane ex animo. Iurisconsulti e tenebris procedebant, pallidi, graciles, vix animam habentes, tanquam qui tum maxime reviviscerent. Ex his unus cum vidisset capita conferentes et fortunas suas deplorantes causidicos, accedit et ait: 'dicebam vobis: non semper Saturnalia erunt.' Claudius ut vidit funus suum, intellexit se mortuum esse.

Ducit illum ad tribunal Aeaci: is lege Cornelia quae de sicariis lata est, quaerebat. Postulat, nomen eius recipiat; edit subscriptionem: occisos senatores XXXV, equites R. CCXXI, ceteros ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε. Advocatum non invenit. Tandem procedit P. Petronius, vetus convictor eius, homo Claudiana lingua disertus, et postulat advocationem. Non datur. Accusat Pedo Pompeius magnis clamoribus. Incipit patronus velle respondere. Aeacus, homo iustissimus, vetat et illum altera tantum parte audita condemnat et ait: αἴκε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο. Ingens silentium

factum est. Stupebant omnes novitate rei attoniti, negabant hoc unquam factum. Claudio magis iniquum videbatur quam novum. De genere poenae diu disputatum est, quid illum pati oporteret. Erant qui dicerent, Tantalum siti periturum nisi illi succurreretur; aliquando Ixionis miseri rotam sufflaminandam. Non placuit ulli ex veteribus missionem dari, ne vel Claudius unquam simile speraret. Placuit novam poenam constitui debere, excogitandum illi laborem irritum et alicuius cupiditatis spem sine fine et effectu. Tum Aeacus iubet illum alea ludere pertuso fritillo. Et iam coeperat fugientes semper tesseras quaerere et nihil proficere:

> nam quotiens missurus erat resonante fritillo,
> utraque subducto fugiebat tessera fundo.
> cumque recollectos auderet mittere talos,
> lusuro similis semper semperque petenti,
> decepere fidem: refugit digitosque per ipsos
> fallax adsiduo dilabitur alea furto.
> sic cum iam summi tanguntur culmina montis,
> irrita Sisyphio volvuntur pondera collo.

Apparuit subito C. Caesar et petere illum in servitutem coepit; producit testes, qui illum viderant ab ipso flagris, ferulis, colaphis vapulantem. Adiudicatur C. Caesari; Caesar illum Aeaco donat. Is Menandro liberto suo tradidit, ut a cognitionibus esset.

SENECA, *Ludus*, 9–12, 14, 15.

NOTES

The *Ludus* of Seneca was written at the beginning of Nero's principate as a satire on the deification of Claudius (see note on line 12). The following is a summary of the plot up to the point at which the present selection begins.

About midday on Oct. 13, A.D. 54, Claudius was trying to give up the ghost, but could not find a way out for it. So Mercury, a friend of his, begged Clotho, one of the three Fates, to put him out of his pain. Clotho replied that she had meant to give him time enough to grant Roman citizenship to the few persons to whom he had not already granted it (a satire on Claudius's extension of the Roman franchise), but perhaps it was just as well that a few foreigners should be allowed to exist to prevent the breed from becoming extinct. So she arranged that Claudius should die, and two buffoons with him, for fear he should be lonely. Claudius died while hearing some comedians. News was brought to Jupiter that a tall, grey-headed man had reached Olympus: he kept on nodding his head, as though threatening something, and limping with his right foot. On being asked what race he belonged to, he had made a confused noise, which was not Greek nor Latin nor any other known language. Jupiter then asked Hercules, the god who had travelled most and knew most about foreigners, to find out what the man's nationality was. Hercules on beholding this strange and alarming creature was at first quite frightened, and thought that he would be called upon to perform a thirteenth labour. But on inspecting it more closely he found that it was a man. So he addressed it in his own native language, Greek, in the Homeric formula: 'Who, whence art thou of men; where is thy city, and thy parents?' Claudius was delighted to find learned men in heaven, and hoped that the histories he had composed would find a circulation there. He answered that he was Caesar and came from Troy. 'Nothing of the kind,' exclaimed the goddess of Fever, who had come with him, 'he was born at Lugudunum (Lyons: his actual birthplace) and is a regular Gaul.' Claudius became more inarticulate than ever with rage, and was understood to order Fever off to execution, but no one took any more notice of him than his freedmen had on earth. Hercules declined to put up with any more nonsense, and told Claudius that if he did not say where he came from he would knock him down with his club. Claudius was understood to reply that he had expected Hercules to stand up for him, since none of the gods knew him better than Hercules, in front of whose temple he had sat in court for whole days in July and August (see note on line 71),

listening to attorneys day and night, a far more unsavoury business than cleansing the stables of Augeas.

The scene now changes to the senate house of the gods, in which Hercules has put forward Claudius's claims to celestial citizenship. An objector urges that, if he is to be made a god, it is hard to see what kind of god he is to be. He cannot be an Epicurean god, because Epicurean gods 'are themselves untroubled and give no trouble to others'. And there are good reasons why he cannot be a Stoic god, though it is true that he resembles a Stoic god in having neither heart nor head. His attitude during life to Jupiter was also most unsatisfactory. Is it not enough that he has a temple in Britain where the barbarians pray that 'this fool of a god may be easily humoured'?

Line 3. *mera mapalia*, 'absolute nonsense.' The problem as to how a word originally meaning 'African huts' has come to mean 'nonsense' has not been solved.

7. *postmeridianus.* Probably a satire on the shortened tenure of the consulate. Augustus started the practice of replacing the original pair of consuls for a year by a pair of *consules suffecti*, who entered office on July 1 (so *designatus in kal. Iulias* here). After Nero consulates often lasted for four months only, and after Hadrian for two. There had actually been a *consul postmeridianus* in 45 B.C., when a consul died on the afternoon of Dec. 31, and a *consul suffectus* was appointed for the remaining hours of the year (Cic. ad Fam. vii. 30).

8. *qui semper videt* ἅμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω, 'who always "looks before and after",' refers to the representation of Janus as facing both ways. Originally the words (Hom. Il. iii. 109) refer to the wisdom of old age.

quod in foro vivat. There were four arches in the Forum called Iani, the Exchange of Rome where the bankers and moneychangers did their business.

12. *olim magna res erat deum fieri.* The practice of deification goes back to the time of Lysander (400 B.C.). It reappears in the period after Alexander at the courts of his successors, and is also seen in the dedication of altars in Greece to provincial governors under the Republic. Caesar was deified in his lifetime, Augustus after his death. Tiberius was not deified. The deification of Claudius, whose appearance and conduct alike provoked contempt and ridicule, brought the institution into the region of comedy, and afterwards it became a mere form.

15. ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν, 'eat the fruit of the earth,' is a stock phrase applied to mortals in Homer. ζείδωρος, 'grain-giving,' is an epithet frequently applied to the Earth in Homer.

20. *nummulariolus*, 'moneychanger,' one of the diminutives common in Vulgar Latin.

19. *Diespiter*: the old Italian god of the daylight. His mother *Vica Pota* was a goddess of Victory. The mythology seems somewhat confused.

29. *ad Metamorphosis Ovidii.* The poet Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17) wrote a version of the Greek legends of transformations, ending up with Caesar's transformation into a star and the future deification of Augustus. The apotheosis of Claudius would serve as a comic appendix.

43. *Messalla Corvinus* was appointed by Augustus to the new (or, as some make out, revived) office of *praefectus urbis*, in 25 B.C. He resigned it within a few days on the ground that he was unequal to it: really he seems to have regarded it as unconstitutional.

50. *duas Iulias.* Cf. Suet. Claud. 29 'Appium Silanum consocerum suum, *Iulias*que alteram Drusi, alteram Germanici filiam, crimine incerto nec defensione ulla data occidit, item Cn. Pompeium maioris filiae virum, et *L. Silanum* minoris sponsum.'

59. *nescio.* Messalina, the wife of Claudius, possessed an enormous influence over him during the first few years of his reign. It was owing to her that the two Julias, L. Silanus (mentioned above, 50–2), and many others were put to death. Her profligacy, which was no less remarkable than her cruelty, reached a climax in A.D. 48, when she went through the form of marriage with her lover C. Silius. The result was that both were put to death. The same night at supper Claudius inquired 'why the mistress did not come' (Suet. Claud. 39).

62. *ad summam*, 'in short,' common in Petronius.

tria verba cito dicat. Claudius stammered.

71. *rerum iudicandarum vacationem.* Claudius was very fond of hearing lawsuits. Cf. Suet. Claud. 14 'Ius et consul et extra honorem laboriosissime dixit, etiam suis suorumque diebus sollemnibus (i.e. birthdays, &c.), nonnunquam festis quoque antiquitus et religiosis'. So there is a fitness in the hard judicial labour to which he is sentenced for eternity.

72. Just as, in life, he might have been sentenced to leave Italy within thirty days, and Rome within three.

74. *pedibus in hanc sententiam itum est*: the regular expression for a 'division' in the Senate.

Cyllenius, Mercury, born at Mount Cyllene in Arcadia. He was the conductor of souls to the lower world. Cf. Hor. Odes i. 24. 15 ff.:—

> num vanae redeat sanguis imagini,
> quam virga semel horrida,
> non lenis precibus fata recludere,
> nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi?

76. *unde negant redire quemquam*: Catullus iii. 12. The equivalent stock quotation in English is of course Hamlet III:—

> The undiscovered country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns.

83. *causidici*: who had had a high time (*Saturnalia*, l. 88 below) under Claudius. Cf. Suet. Claud. 15 'Illud quoque a maioribus natu audiebam, adeo causidicos patientia eius solitos abuti, ut descendentem e tribunali non solum voce revocarent, sed et lacinia togae retenta, interdum pede apprehenso detinerent'.

84. *sed plane ex animo.* The adversative is to the *pauci*: 'they made up in sincerity what they lacked in numbers' (Ball).

iurisconsulti. Demand for counsel's opinion seems to have languished under this monstrous regiment of attorneys. *Causidici* were the persons who actually conducted a case in court, *iurisconsulti* the legal experts consulted by them on points of law.

90. In the chapter omitted in this selection Claudius is represented as meeting in the lower world a large number of people whom he had put to death. 'Friends everywhere!' he exclaims, 'how did *you* get here?' Whereupon one of them, Pedo Pompeius, replies, 'Who else sent us here but yourself?' and brings him into court on a charge of murder. The *lex Cornelia* was a law of Sulla's.

93. ὅσα ψάμαθός τε κόνις τε: a quotation from Homer (Iliad ix. 385). We might render 'as the sand of the sea without number'.

95. *advocationem*: probably a postponement of the case, that the accused might consult his advocate.

99. αἴκε πάθοι, 'if he were to have done to him what he did himself, justice would be done'; 'make the punishment fit the crime.'

100. *rei* refers to *altera tantum parte audita condemnat.*

103. *Tantalum*: condemned to stand, with a parching thirst, in water that receded whenever he tried to drink it (see note on A. IV. ii. 68).

104. *Ixionis.* Ixion abused the hospitality of Zeus and tried to win the love of Hera. He was chained to a wheel which rolled perpetually in the air.

109. *alea ludere.* Claudius was very fond of dice. Cf. Suet. Claud. 5 'aleae infamiam subiit'; ibid. 33 'aleam studiosissime lusit, de cuius arte librum quoque emisit'.

119. *Sisyphio.* Sisyphus, king of Corinth, was punished for his wickedness on earth by being compelled in the lower world to roll up hill a large stone, which on reaching the top always rolled down again.

120. Caligula, Claudius's nephew and predecessor in the principate (A. D. 37–41), had always bullied Claudius ; Suet. Cal. 23 'nam Claudium patruum non nisi in ludibrium reservavit' Caligula and his courtiers threw olive and date stones at Claudius during his after-dinner slumber, and put slippers on his hands, that he might rub his eyes with them when he woke up (Cl. 8).

124. *a cognitionibus.* The business of his office was to deal with cases outside the ordinary law, and was carried out under the early emperors by imperial freedmen.

v. *An Episode of Provincial Administration—Pliny, Trajan, and the Christians*

C. PLINIVS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

SOLLEMNE est mihi, domine, omnia, de quibus dubito, ad te referre. Quis enim potest melius vel cunctationem meam regere vel ignorantiam instruere? Cognitionibus de Christianis interfui numquam. Ideo nescio quid et quatenus aut puniri soleat aut quaeri. Nec mediocriter haesitavi, sitne aliquod discrimen aetatum, an quamlibet teneri nihil a robustioribus differant, detur paenitentiae venia, an ei, qui omnino Christianus fuit, desisse non prosit, nomen ipsum, si flagitiis careat, an flagitia cohaerentia nomini puniantur. Interim in iis, qui ad me tamquam Christiani deferebantur, hunc sum secutus modum. Interrogavi ipsos an essent Christiani. Confitentes iterum ac tertio interrogavi supplicium minatus. Perseverantes duci iussi. Neque enim dubitabam, qualecumque esset quod faterentur, pertinaciam certe et inflexibilem obstinationem debere puniri. Fuerunt alii similis amentiae; quos, quia cives Romani erant, adnotavi in urbem remittendos. Mox ipso tractatu, ut fieri solet, diffundente se crimine plures species inciderunt. Propositus est libellus sine auctore multorum nomina continens. Qui negabant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, cum praeeunte me deos appellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent, praeterea male dicerent Christo, quorum nihil posse cogi dicuntur, qui sunt re vera Christiani, dimittendos esse putavi. Alii ab indice nominati esse se Christianos dixerunt et mox negaverunt; fuisse quidem, sed desisse, quidam ante triennium, quidam ante plures annos, non nemo etiam ante viginti. Hi quoque omnes et imaginem tuam deorumque simulacra venerati sunt et Christo male dixerunt. Adfirmabant autem hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae vel erroris, quod essent

soliti stato die ante lucem convenire carmenque Christo quasi deo dicere secum invicem seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent. Quibus peractis morem sibi discedendi fuisse rursusque coeundi ad capiendum cibum, promiscuum tamen et innoxium; quod ipsum facere desisse post edictum meum, quo secundum mandata tua hetaerias esse vetueram. Quo magis necessarium credidi ex duabus ancillis, quae ministrae dicebantur, quid esset veri, et per tormenta quaerere. Nihil aliud inveni quam superstitionem pravam immodicam. Ideo dilata cognitione ad consulendum te decucurri. Visa est enim mihi res digna consultatione, maxime propter periclitantium numerum. Multi enim omnis aetatis, omnis ordinis, utriusque sexus etiam vocantur in periculum et vocabuntur. Neque civitates tantum, sed vicos etiam atque agros superstitionis istius contagio pervagata est; quae videtur sisti et corrigi posse. Certe satis constat prope iam desolata templa coepisse celebrari, et sacra sollemnia diu intermissa repeti, passimque venire victimas, quarum adhuc rarissimus emptor inveniebatur. Ex quo facile est opinari, quae turba hominum emendari possit, si sit paenitentiae locus.

TRAIANVS PLINIO.

Actum, quem debuisti, mi Secunde, in excutiendis causis eorum, qui Christiani ad te delati fuerant, secutus es. Neque enim in universum aliquid, quod quasi certam formam habeat, constitui potest. Conquirendi non sunt; si deferantur et arguantur, puniendi sunt, ita tamen, ut, qui negaverit se Christianum esse idque re ipsa manifestum fecerit, id est supplicando dis nostris, quamvis suspectus in praeteritum, veniam ex paenitentia impetret. Sine auctore vero propositi libelli in nullo crimine locum habere debent. Nam et pessimi exempli nec nostri saeculi est.

PLIN. *Ep.* x. 96 (97), 97 (98).

NOTES

Line 9. *nomen ipsum* : i. e. the mere profession of Christianity. The profession of Christianity was an offence against the state religion of Rome, and was consequently in itself punishable. A sect whose proselytizing activity was so remarkable could not be safely tolerated. (Cf. lines 51, 52, below 'Certe satis constat *prope iam desolata* templa coepisse celebrari'.)

14. *duci* : i. e. to execution.

19. *tractatu* : judicial proceedings.

38. *ad capiendum cibum.* This refers to the Agapae or common feasts held in the later part of the day, to which each contributed according to his ability. Although the poor were entertained at these, it is admitted by a Christian authority (Tertullian) that abuses were not unknown. *promiscuum tamen et innoxium* : ordinary food, not (e. g.) the blood of babies which the Jews chose to believe was consumed in large quantities at Christian feasts.

41. *hetaerias* : political associations. 'Collegia,' or associations of men for any common object (Plin. x. 34 'qui in idem contracti fuerint'), tended always to take an interest in politics : this may be seen (as Hardy points out) in the wall inscriptions at Pompeii. The political activity of these bodies led to their being discouraged under the Empire, and Trajan, in the letter above cited, refuses to allow Pliny to found a 'collegium fabrorum' to act as firemen at Nicomedia.

vi. *Exile from Civilization.*

ERGO erat in fatis Scythiam quoque visere nostris,
quaeque Lycaonio terra sub axe iacet;
nec vos, Pierides, nec stirps Letoia, vestro
docta sacerdoti turba tulistis opem.
nec si quid lusi vero sine crimine, prodest,
quodque magis vita Musa iocata mea est:
plurima sed pelago terraque pericula passum
ustus ab assiduo frigore Pontus habet.
quique, fugax rerum securaque in otia natus,
mollis et inpatiens ante laboris eram,
ultima nunc patior, nec me mare portibus orbum
perdere, diversae nec potuere viae.
sufficit atque malis animus, nam corpus ab illo
accepit vires vixque ferenda tulit.
dum tamen et terris dubius iactabar et undis,
fallebat curas aegraque corda labor:
ut via finita est et opus requievit eundi,
et poenae tellus est mihi tacta meae,
nil nisi flere libet, nec nostro parcior imber
lumine, de verna quam nive manat aqua.
Roma domusque subit desideriumque locorum,
quicquid et amissa restat in urbe mei.
ei mihi, quo totiens nostri pulsata sepulcri
ianua, sed nullo tempore aperta fuit?
cur ego tot gladios fugi, totiensque minata
obruit infelix nulla procella caput?
di, quos experior nimium constanter iniquos,
participes irae quos deus unus habet,
exstimulate, precor, cessantia fata meique
interitus clausas esse vetate fores.

OVID, *Trist.* iii. 2.

NOTES

Line 1 ff. Ovid was banished to Tomi on the Black Sea at the end of A.D. 8. He tells us (Trist. ii. 207) that the cause was 'carmen et error'. The *carmen*, the notorious 'Ars Amatoria', had already been published for ten years, so the immediate cause must have been the *error*. The *error* may perhaps have been connivance at the misconduct of the younger Julia, Augustus's granddaughter, with D. Silanus.

2 f. *Lycaonio sub axe.* Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, is said to have been changed into the constellation of the Bear. The present expression simply means 'northern'.

Pierides: the Muses.

stirps Letoia: Apollo, the god of poetry.

6. Ovid and Martial constantly protest that their lives are less loose than their poems.

8. The rigour of the Black Sea climate is grossly exaggerated in Ovid's poems, though in winter the cold is severe.

21 f. Cf. Trist. i. 3. 61, 62 :—

Denique, Quid propero? Scythia est, quo mittimur, inquam!
Roma relinquenda est: utraque iusta mora est.

The passage well shows the utter desolation of exile from the only civilization known. A Roman exile was outside the pale of civilization; a modern exile has other civilized countries to go to.

28. *deus unus*: Augustus. Cf. the language which Martial habitually applies to Domitian, e.g. in iv. 8. 9 ff. (B. II. i. 9 ff. in this book). Augustus's official deification was, as usual, postponed till after his death. He never allowed himself to be called *divus*, but only *divi filius* (i. e. of Julius Cæsar).

A. II. EDUCATION

i. *Roman Education, Old and New*

Et Messalla 'non reconditas, Materne, causas requiris, nec aut tibi ipsi aut huic Secundo vel huic Apro ignotas, etiam si mihi partis adsignatis proferendi in medium quae omnes sentimus. quis enim ignorat et eloquentiam et ceteras artis descivisse ab illa vetere gloria non inopia hominum, sed desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui? quae mala primum in urbe nata, mox per Italiam fusa, iam in provincias manant. quamquam vestra vobis notiora sunt: ego de urbe et his propriis ac vernaculis vitiis loquar, quae natos statim excipiunt et per singulos aetatis gradus cumulantur, si prius de severitate ac disciplina maiorum circa educandos formandosque liberos pauca praedixero. nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis. eligebatur autem maior aliqua natu propinqua, cuius probatis spectatisque moribus omnis eiusdem familiae suboles committeretur; coram qua neque dicere fas erat quod turpe dictu, neque facere quod inhonestum factu videretur. ac non studia modo curasque, sed remissiones etiam lususque puerorum sanctitate quadam ac verecundia temperabat. sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris sic Atiam Augusti matrem praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus. quae disciplina ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera et integra et nullis pravitatibus detorta unius cuiusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artis honestas,

et sive ad rem militarem sive ad iuris scientiam sive ad eloquentiae studium inclinasset, id solum ageret, id universum hauriret.

At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio adcommodatus. horum fabulis et erroribus virides statim et rudes animi imbuuntur; nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino aut dicat aut faciat. quin etiam ipsi parentes non probitati neque modestiae parvulos adsuefaciunt, sed lasciviae et dicacitati, per quae paulatim impudentia inrepit et sui alienique contemptus. iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vitia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studia: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit? quotum quemque invenies qui domi quicquam aliud loquatur? quos alios adulescentulorum sermones excipimus, si quando auditoria intravimus? ne praeceptores quidem ullas crebriores cum auditoribus suis fabulas habent; colligunt enim discipulos non severitate disciplinae nec ingenii experimento, sed ambitione salutationum et inlecebris adulationis.

Transeo prima discentium elementa, in quibus et ipsis parum laboratur: nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitiam vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur. sed expetuntur quos rhetoras vocant; quorum professio quando primum in hanc urbem introducta sit quamque nullam apud maiores nostros auctoritatem habuerit, statim dicturus referam necesse est animum ad eam disciplinam, qua usos esse eos oratores accepimus, quorum infinitus labor et cotidiana meditatio et in omni genere studiorum assiduae exercitationes ipsorum etiam continentur libris. notus est vobis

utique Ciceronis liber qui Brutus inscribitur, in cuius extrema parte (nam prior commemorationem veterum oratorum habet) sua initia, suos gradus, suae eloquentiae velut quandam educationem refert: se apud Q. Mucium ius civile didicisse, apud Philonem Academicum, apud Diodotum Stoicum omnis philosophiae partis penitus hausisse; neque iis doctoribus contentum, quorum ei copia in urbe contigerat, Achaiam quoque et Asiam peragrasse, ut omnem omnium artium varietatem complecteretur. itaque hercule in libris Ciceronis deprehendere licet, non geometriae, non musicae, non grammaticae, non denique ullius ingenuae artis scientiam ei defuisse. ille dialecticae subtilitatem, ille moralis partis utilitatem, ille rerum motus causasque cognoverat. ita est enim, optimi viri, ita: ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas, sicut ceterarum rerum, angustis et brevibus terminis cluditur, sed is est orator, qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.

Hoc sibi illi veteres persuaserant, ad hoc efficiendum intellegebant opus esse, non ut in rhetorum scholis declamarent, nec ut fictis nec ullo modo ad veritatem accedentibus controversiis linguam modo et vocem exercerent, sed ut iis artibus pectus implerent, in quibus de bonis et malis, de honesto et turpi, de iusto et iniusto disputatur; haec enim est oratori subiecta ad dicendum materia. nam in iudiciis fere de aequitate, in deliberationibus de utilitate, in laudationibus de honestate disserimus, ita tamen ut plerumque haec ipsa invicem misceantur: de quibus copiose et varie et ornate nemo dicere potest, nisi qui cognovit naturam humanam et vim virtutum pravitatemque vitiorum et intellectum eorum, quae nec in virtutibus nec in vitiis numerantur. ex his fontibus etiam illa profluunt, ut facilius iram

iudicis vel instiget vel leniat, qui scit quid ira, promptius ad miserationem impellat, qui scit quid sit misericordia et quibus animi motibus concitetur. in his artibus exercitationibusque versatus orator, sive apud infestos sive apud cupidos sive apud invidentis sive apud tristis sive apud timentis dicendum habuerit, tenebit venas animorum, et prout cuiusque natura postulabit, adhibebit manum et temperabit orationem, parato omni instrumento et ad omnem usum reposito. sunt apud quos adstrictum et collectum et singula statim argumenta concludens dicendi genus plus fidei meretur: apud hos dedisse operam dialecticae proficiet. alios fusa et aequalis et ex communibus ducta sensibus oratio magis delectat: ad hos permovendos mutuabimur a Peripateticis aptos et in omnem disputationem paratos iam locos. dabunt Academici pugnacitatem, Plato altitudinem, Xenophon iucunditatem; ne Epicuri quidem et Metrodori honestas quasdam exclamationes adsumere iisque, prout res poscit, uti alienum erit oratori. neque enim sapientem informamus neque Stoicorum comitem, sed eum qui quasdam artis haurire, omnis libare debet. ideoque et iuris civilis scientiam veteres oratores comprehendebant, et grammatica musica geometria imbuebantur. incidunt enim causae, plurimae quidem ac paene omnes, quibus iuris notitia desideratur, pleraeque autem, in quibus haec quoque scientia requiritur.

Nec quisquam respondeat sufficere, ut ad tempus simplex quiddam et uniforme doceamur. primum enim aliter utimur propriis, aliter commodatis, longeque interesse manifestum est, possideat quis quae profert an mutuetur. deinde ipsa multarum artium scientia etiam aliud agentis nos ornat, atque ubi minime credas, eminet et excellit. idque non doctus modo et prudens auditor, sed etiam populus intellegit ac statim ita laude prosequitur, ut legitime studuisse, ut per omnis eloquentiae numeros isse, ut denique oratorem esse

fateatur; quem non posse aliter existere nec extitisse umquam confirmo, nisi eum qui, tamquam in aciem omnibus armis instructus, sic in forum omnibus artibus armatus exierit. quod adeo neglegitur ab horum temporum disertis, ut in actionibus eorum huius quoque cotidiani sermonis foeda ac pudenda vitia deprehendantur; ut ignorent leges, non teneant senatus consulta, ius huius civitatis ultro derideant, sapientiae vero studium et praecepta prudentium penitus reformident. in paucissimos sensus et angustas sententias detrudunt eloquentiam velut expulsam regno suo, ut quae olim omnium artium domina pulcherrimo comitatu pectora implebat, nunc circumcisa et amputata, sine apparatu, sine honore, paene dixerim sine ingenuitate, quasi una ex sordidissimis artificiis discatur. ergo hanc primam et praecipuam causam arbitror, cur in tantum ab eloquentia antiquorum oratorum recesserimus. si testes desiderantur, quos potiores nominabo quam apud Graecos Demosthenem, quem studiosissimum Platonis auditorem fuisse memoriae proditum est? et Cicero his, ut opinor, verbis refert, quidquid in eloquentia effecerit, id se non rhetorum officinis, sed Academiae spatiis consecutum. sunt aliae causae, magnae et graves, quas vobis aperiri aequum est, quoniam quidem ego iam meum munus explevi, et quod mihi in consuetudine est, satis multos offendi, quos, si forte haec audierint, certum habeo dicturos me, dum iuris et philosophiae scientiam tamquam oratori necessariam laudo, ineptiis meis plausisse.'

Et Maternus 'mihi quidem' inquit 'susceptum a te munus adeo peregisse nondum videris, ut incohasse tantum et velut vestigia ac liniamenta quaedam ostendisse videaris. nam quibus artibus instrui veteres oratores soliti sint, dixisti differentiamque nostrae desidiae et inscientiae adversus acerrima et fecundissima eorum studia demonstrasti: cetera exspecto, ut quem ad modum ex te didici, quid aut illi scierint aut nos nesciamus, ita hoc quoque cognoscam, quibus exercitationi-

bus iuvenes iam et forum ingressuri confirmare et alere ingenia sua soliti sint. neque enim solum arte et scientia, sed longe magis facultate et usu eloquentiam contineri, nec tu puto abnues et hi significare vultu videntur'.

Deinde cum Aper quoque et Secundus idem adnuissent, Messalla quasi rursus incipiens: 'quoniam initia et semina veteris eloquentiae satis demonstrasse videor, docendo quibus artibus antiqui oratores institui erudirique soliti sint, persequar nunc exercitationes eorum. quamquam ipsis artibus inest exercitatio, nec quisquam percipere tot tam reconditas tam varias res potest, nisi ut scientiae meditatio, meditationi facultas, facultati usus eloquentiae accedat. per quae colligitur eandem esse rationem et percipiendi quae proferas et proferendi quae perceperis. sed si cui obscuriora haec videntur isque scientiam ab exercitatione separat, illud certe concedet, instructum et plenum his artibus animum longe paratiorem ad eas exercitationes venturum, quae propriae esse oratorum videntur.

Ergo apud maiores nostros iuvenis ille, qui foro et eloquentiae parabatur, imbutus iam domestica disciplina, refertus honestis studiis deducebatur a patre vel a propinquis ad eum oratorem, qui principem in civitate locum obtinebat. hunc sectari, hunc prosequi, huius omnibus dictionibus interesse sive in iudiciis sive in contionibus adsuescebat, ita ut altercationes quoque exciperet et iurgiis interesset utque sic dixerim, pugnare in proelio disceret. magnus ex hoc usus, multum constantiae, plurimum iudicii iuvenibus statim contingebat, in media luce studentibus atque inter ipsa discrimina, ubi nemo inpune stulte aliquid aut contrarie dicit, quo minus et iudex respuat et adversarius exprobret, ipsi denique advocati aspernentur. igitur vera statim et incorrupta eloquentia imbuebantur; et quamquam unum sequerentur, tamen omnis eiusdem aetatis patronos in plurimis et causis et iudiciis cognoscebant; habebantque ipsius populi

diversissimarum aurium copiam, ex qua facile deprehenderent, quid in quoque vel probaretur vel displiceret. ita nec praeceptor deerat, optimus quidem et electissimus, qui faciem eloquentiae, non imaginem praestaret, nec adversarii et aemuli ferro, non rudibus dimicantes, nec auditorium semper plenum, semper novum, ex invidis et faventibus, ut nec bene nec male dicta dissimularentur. scitis enim magnam illam et duraturam eloquentiae famam non minus in diversis subselliis parari quam suis; inde quin immo constantius surgere, ibi fidelius corroborari. atque hercule sub eius modi praeceptoribus iuvenis ille, de quo loquimur, oratorum discipulus, fori auditor, sectator iudiciorum, eruditus et adsuefactus alienis experimentis, cui cotidie audienti notae leges, non novi iudicum vultus, frequens in oculis consuetudo contionum, saepe cognitae populi aures, sive accusationem susceperat sive defensionem, solus statim et unus cuicumque causae par erat. nono decimo aetatis anno L. Crassus C. Carbonem, unoetvicesimo Caesar Dolabellam, altero et vicesimo Asinius Pollio C. Catonem, non multum aetate antecedens Calvus Vatinium iis orationibus insecuti sunt, quas hodieque cum admiratione legimus.

At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in scholas istorum, qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod a Crasso et Domitio censoribus claudere, ut ait Cicero, 'ludum impudentiae' iussi sunt. sed ut dicere instituerat, deducuntur in scholas, in quibus non facile dixerim utrumne locus ipse an condiscipuli an genus studiorum plus mali ingeniis adferant. nam in loco nihil reverentiae est, in quem nemo nisi aeque imperitus intret; in condiscipulis nihil profectus, cum pueri inter pueros et adulescentuli inter adulescentulos pari securitate et dicant et audiantur; ipsae vero exercitationes magna ex parte contrariae. nempe enim duo genera materiarum apud rhetoras

tractantur, suasoriae et controversiae. ex his suasoriae quidem etsi tamquam plane leviores et minus prudentiae exigentes pueris delegantur, controversiae robustioribus adsignantur, quales, per fidem, et quam incredibiliter compositae! sequitur autem ut materiae abhorrenti a veritate declamatio quoque adhibeatur. sic fit ut tyrannicidarum praemia aut pestilentiae remedia aut quidquid in schola cotidie agitur, in foro vel raro vel numquam, ingentibus verbis persequantur.

Magna eloquentia, sicut flamma, materia alitur et motibus excitatur et urendo clarescit. eadem ratio in nostra quoque civitate antiquorum eloquentiam provexit. nam etsi horum quoque temporum oratores ea consecuti sunt, quae composita et quieta et beata re publica tribui fas erat, tamen illa perturbatione ac licentia plura sibi adsequi videbantur, cum mixtis omnibus et moderatore uno carentibus tantum quisque orator saperet, quantum erranti populo persuaderi poterat. hinc leges assiduae et populare nomen, hinc contiones magistratuum paene pernoctantium in rostris, hinc accusationes potentium reorum et adsignatae etiam domibus inimicitiae, hinc procerum factiones et assidua senatus adversus plebem certamina. quae singula etsi distrahebant rem publicam, exercebant tamen illorum temporum eloquentiam et magnis cumulare praemiis videbantur, quia quanto quisque plus dicendo poterat, tanto facilius honores adsequebatur, tanto magis in ipsis honoribus collegas suos anteibat, tanto plus apud principes gratiae, plus auctoritatis apud patres, plus notitiae ac nominis apud plebem parabat. hi clientelis etiam exterarum nationum redundabant, hos ituri in provincias magistratus reverebantur, hos reversi colebant, hos et praeturae et consulatus vocare ultro videbantur, hi ne privati quidem sine potestate erant, cum et populum et senatum consilio et auctoritate regerent. quin immo sibi ipsi persuaserant neminem sine eloquentia aut adsequi posse

in civitate aut tueri conspicuum et eminentem locum. nec mirum, cum etiam inviti ad populum producerentur, cum parum esset in senatu breviter censere, nisi qui ingenio et eloquentia sententiam suam tueretur, cum in aliquam invidiam aut crimen vocati sua voce respondendum haberent, cum testimonia quoque in publicis iudiciis non absentes nec per tabellam dare, sed coram et praesentes dicere cogerentur. ita ad summa eloquentiae praemia magna etiam necessitas accedebat, et quo modo disertum haberi pulchrum et gloriosum, sic contra mutum et elinguem videri deforme habebatur.

TAC. *Dial.* 28–36.

NOTES

Lines 22 f. *Corneliam*: the proverbial pattern mother.

Gracchorum: the two great demagogues, who proposed to distribute the state lands, held in large estates by the rich and worked by slave labour, among the yeomen of Italy. They were both killed in street riots at Rome, Tiberius in 133 B.C., Gaius in 121 B.C.

Caesaris: Julius Caesar, the Dictator (100–44 B.C.).

Augusti: Octavianus, princeps from 27 B.C. to A.D. 14.

65. *Q. Mucium.* Q. Mucius Scaevola, the augur (159-after 88 B.C.). He was neither a real orator nor a philosopher, though he embraced Stoicism. His strength lay in the legal opinions he gave to those who consulted him as *iuris consultus.*

70 f. *in libris Ciceronis.* The versatility of Cicero's mind may be seen from the list of his works. Besides his speeches, on which his fame chiefly rests, he wrote on the theory of rhetoric, moral and political philosophy, and showed his interest in scientific questions by a translation of the 'Phenomena' of the Alexandrian poet Aratus. His treatment of philosophy is sometimes superficial.

108. *Peripateticis*: the school of philosophy founded by Aristotle at Athens (384–322 B.C.).

110. *Academici*: the school of philosophy founded by Plato (429–347 B.C.).

111. *Epicuri* (342–270 B.C.): the founder of the Epicurean school.

Metrodori: the most distinguished of the disciples of Epicurus, died 277 B.C.

122. *doceamur*: i. e. by applying to experts in each particular subject.

177 ff. Theory and practice cannot be divorced. Even if you do not acknowledge this, you must admit that, as far as oratory is concerned, theory is the best preparation for practice.

215. *C. Carbonem*: a friend of the Gracchi, who, in spite of deserting their cause and espousing that of the aristocracy, was allowed to fall a victim to the democrats, and died by his own hand in 119 B.C.

Dolabellam: a partisan of Sulla, brought to trial for extortion by Caesar in 77 B.C. In this year Caesar would be in his twenty-fourth (or, according to Mommsen, in his twenty-sixth year), not in his twenty-first. It was the regular thing in the last period of the Republic for young aspirants to a political career to attract public attention by accusing some provincial governor of maladministration.

216. *C. Catonem*, in 54 B.C.

217. *Calvus* (82–47 B C.): accused Vatinius in 58 B. C.

232. *suasoriae et controversiae.* The *suasoriae* were historical or legendary themes: the *controversiae*, which were less elementary, were imaginary lawsuits, which demanded some legal knowledge. The elder Seneca (*circ.* 54 B. C.–A. D. 39) has left us a collection of each. Among his *suasoriae* are the following subjects:—'Alexander deliberates whether to launch his fleet on the Ocean' (Sen. Suas. i), 'The Athenians deliberate whether to destroy the trophies of their victories over the Persians, as Xerxes threatens to return if they do not' (id. Suas. v), 'Cicero deliberates whether to beg his life from Antony' (id. Suas. vi).

As an example of the *controversia* we may take Sen. Suas. i. 6 'The Pirate-Captain's Daughter'. The situation is as follows. A young man captured by pirates writes to his father for ransom, but without success. The captain's daughter makes him swear to marry her if he escapes. He does so and she leaves her father to follow him, and on his return home marries him. At this point a childless woman (*orba*) with a fortune appears, and the young man is bidden by his father to marry her and divorce the pirate's daughter. He refuses, and is disinherited by his father.

The unreality of such themes, and their ineffectiveness as a preparation for practical work at the bar, is obvious. See Juv. Sat. i. 15–17, vii. 150 ff. (A. III. v. 150 ff. in this book).

241 f. 'It is with eloquence as with a flame. It requires fuel to feed it, motion to excite it, and it brightens as it burns.' The younger Pitt's impromptu translation.

244. Under the Principate the political turmoil of the Republican period had come to an end.

249. *populare nomen*: the popularity resulting from democratic legislation.

ii. *A Liberal Education*

NVNC ad me redeo libertino patre natum,
quem rodunt omnes libertino patre natum,
nunc quia sim tibi, Maecenas, convictor; at olim
quod mihi pareret legio Romana tribuno.
dissimile hoc illi est; quia non, ut forsit honorem
iure mihi invideat quivis, ita te quoque amicum,
praesertim cautum dignos adsumere, prava
ambitione procul. felicem dicere non hoc
me possim, casu quod te sortitus amicum;
nulla etenim mihi te fors obtulit: optimus olim
Vergilius, post hunc Varius, dixere quid essem.
ut veni coram, singultim pauca locutus,
infans namque pudor prohibebat plura profari,
non ego me claro natum patre, non ego circum
me Satureiano vectari rura caballo,
sed quod eram narro. respondes, ut tuus est mos,
pauca: abeo; et revocas nono post mense iubesque
esse in amicorum numero. magnum hoc ego duco
quod placui tibi, qui turpi secernis honestum,
non patre praeclaro sed vita et pectore puro.
atqui si vitiis mediocribus ac mea paucis
mendosa est natura alioqui recta, velut si
egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore naevos;
si neque avaritiam neque sordis nec mala lustra
obiciet vere quisquam mihi, purus et insons
(ut me collaudem) si et vivo carus amicis;
causa fuit pater his, qui macro pauper agello
noluit in Flavi ludum me mittere, magni
quo pueri magnis e centurionibus orti,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto,
ibant octonis referentes Idibus aera:

sed puerum est ausus Romam portare, docendum
artis quas doceat quivis eques atque senator
semet prognatos. vestem servosque sequentis,
in magno ut populo, si qui vidisset, avita
ex re praeberi sumptus mihi crederet illos.
ipse mihi custos incorruptissimus omnis
circum doctores aderat. quid multa? pudicum,
qui primus virtutis honos, servavit ab omni
non solum facto, verum opprobrio quoque turpi;
nec timuit sibi ne vitio quis verteret olim
si praeco parvas aut, ut fuit ipse, coactor
mercedes sequerer; neque ego essem questus: at hoc nunc
laus illi debetur et a me gratia maior.
nil me paeniteat sanum patris huius, eoque
non, ut magna dolo factum negat esse suo pars,
quod non ingenuos habeat clarosque parentis,
sic me defendam. longe mea discrepat istis
et vox et ratio: nam si natura iuberet
a certis annis aevum remeare peractum
atque alios legere ad fastum quoscumque parentis,
optaret sibi quisque, meis contentus honestos
fascibus et sellis nollem mihi sumere, demens
iudicio vulgi, sanus fortasse tuo, quod
nollem onus haud umquam solitus portare molestum.

Hor. *Sat.* i. 6.

NOTES

Horace gives an account of his own birth and education. It shows us how in the Augustan age it was possible for a man to rise from a low station, mainly through education.

Line 28. *Flavi ludum*: the local school at Venusia.

31. Best explained of the monthly payments and four months' summer holidays of country schools as contrasted with the yearly payment and full year's schooling in Rome (Wickham).

42. *coactor*: collector of the taxes formed by the *publicani*. The *coactor* was allowed 1 per cent. on his collection.

54. *tuo*: Maecenas'.

A. III. LITERATURE

i. *The Author to his Book*

VERTVMNVM Ianumque, liber, spectare videris,
scilicet ut prostes Sosiorum pumice mundus.
odisti clavis et grata sigilla pudico;
paucis ostendi gemis et communia laudas,
non ita nutritus. fuge quo descendere gestis.
non erit emisso reditus tibi. 'quid miser egi?
quid volui?' dices, ubi quid te laeserit, et scis
in breve te cogi cum plenus languet amator.
quodsi non odio peccantis desipit augur,
carus eris Romae donec te deserat aetas;
contrectatus ubi manibus sordescere vulgi
coeperis, aut tineas pasces taciturnus inertis,
aut fugies Vticam aut vinctus mitteris Ilerdam.
ridebit monitor non exauditus, ut ille
qui male parentem in rupes protrusit asellum
iratus: quis enim invitum servare laboret?
hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.
cum tibi sol tepidus pluris admoverit auris,
me libertino natum patre et in tenui re
maiores pennas nido extendisse loqueris,
ut quantum generi demas virtutibus addas;
me primis Vrbis belli placuisse domique;
corporis exigui, praecanum, solibus aptum,
irasci celerem, tamen ut placabilis essem.
forte meum si quis te percontabitur aevum,
me quater undenos sciat implevisse Decembris
collegam Lepidum quo duxit Lollius. anno.

HOR. *Ep.* i. 20.

NOTES

Line 1. *Vertumnum Ianumque.* There was a statue of Vertumnus where the Vicus Tuscus joined the Forum. Janus may refer to the arches in the Forum (cf. note on A. IV. i. 54), or to his temple in the Argiletum. In either case a bookseller's quarter is meant.

2. *Sosiorum.* The Sosii Brothers were well-known booksellers.

5. *non ita nutritus* : i.e. it has not been recited.

8. *in breve te cogi* : to be rolled up and put back in the case.

13. *vinctus* : metaphor of a slave (cf. line 5 ff. above). Utica (in Africa) and Ilerda (in Spain) are taken as instances of second-rate provincial towns. But Horace does not really despise provincial fame (cf. Odes ii. 20. 17–20, Ars Poetica 345–6 ' hic et mare transit | et longum noto scriptori prorogat aevum '.

17 f. See Juv. vii. 226 (A. III. v. 226 in this book).

19. The meaning of the line is doubtful. Perhaps it refers to a time of year which is not too hot for recitations. Juvenal considers August too hot (see Juv. iii. 9, B. III. iv. 9 in this book).

27. Horace was born on Dec. 8th, 65 B.C.

The Recitation

ii.

SEMPER ego auditor tantum? numquamne reponam
vexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?
inpune ergo mihi recitaverit ille togatas,
hic elegos? inpune diem consumpserit ingens
Telephus aut summi plena iam margine libri
scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes?
nota magis nulli domus est sua quam mihi lucus
Martis et Aeoliis vicinum rupibus antrum
Vulcani; quid agant venti, quas torqueat umbras
Aeacus, unde alius furtivae devehat aurum
pelliculae, quantas iaculetur Monychus ornos,
Frontonis platani convulsaque marmora clamant
semper et adsiduo ruptae lectore columnae.
expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.
et nos ergo manum ferulae subduximus, et nos
consilium dedimus Sullae, privatus ut altum
dormiret. stulta est clementia, cum tot ubique
vatibus occurras, periturae parcere chartae.

JUV. *Sat.* i.

NOTES

Line 2. *totiens*: because it was too long to be finished in a single recitation.

Theseide Cordi: the epic of an obscure poet.

3. *togatas*: comedies dealing with Roman and Italian life, distinguished from the *palliata* which represented Greek life and was imitated from Greek originals, especially the New Attic Comedy. The *togata* was so called because the actors wore the *toga*.

5 f. 'Telephus' and 'Orestes' are typical tragedies by Juvenal's contemporaries; ever since the time of Euripides (fifth cent. B.C.) they had been among the stock subjects for tragedy. The 'Orestes' here is so long that it overflows into the margin and even into the back of the roll on which it is written.

7. *lucus Martis*: among the Colchi, where the golden fleece was guarded by a dragon.

8. *Aeoliis rupibus*: the seven Liparaean islands N. of Sicily. The most southern of these was called the forge of Vulcan.

10. *Aeacus*: one of the judges of the dead, Minos and Rhadamanthus being the others.

alius: Jason.

11. *Monychus*: used by Latin writers as the proper name of a Centaur, or animal partly human partly equine.

12. *Frontonis*: a rich man who allowed recitations to take place in his grounds.

16. *consilium dedimus Sullae*. See note on A. II. i. 232.

iii

C. PLINIVS SOSIO SENECIONI SVO S.

MAGNVM proventum poetarum annus hic attulit; toto mense Aprili nullus fere dies, quo non recitaret aliquis. Iuvat me, quod vigent studia, proferunt se ingenia hominum et ostentant, tametsi ad audiendum pigre coitur. Plerique in stationibus sedent tempusque audiendi fabulis conterunt ac subinde sibi nuntiari iubent, an iam recitator intraverit, an dixerit praefationem, an ex magna parte evolverit librum; tunc demum ac tunc quoque lente cunctanterque veniunt nec tamen permanent, sed ante finem recedunt alii dissimulanter et furtim, alii simpliciter et libere. At hercule memoria parentum Claudium Caesarem ferunt, cum in palatio spatiaretur audissetque clamorem, causam requisisse, cumque dictum esset recitare Nonianum, subitum recitanti inopinatumque venisse. Nunc otiosissimus quisque multo ante rogatus et identidem admonitus aut non venit aut, si venit, queritur se diem, quia non perdiderit, perdidisse. Sed tanto magis laudandi probandique sunt, quos a scribendi recitandique studio haec auditorum vel desidia vel superbia non retardat. Equidem prope nemini defui. Erant sane plerique amici; neque enim est fere quisquam, qui studia, ut non simul et nos amet. His ex causis longius, quam destinaveram, tempus in urbe consumpsi. Possum iam repetere secessum et scribere aliquid, quod non recitem, ne videar, quorum recitationibus adfui, non auditor fuisse, sed creditor. Nam ut in ceteris rebus ita in audiendi officio perit gratia, si reposcatur. Vale. PLIN. *Ep.* i. 13.

NOTES

Line 12. Claudius himself wrote a history, and recited it in person. Unfortunately 'defractis compluribus subsellis obesitate cuiusdam', general laughter arose. Claudius could not get the fat man out of his head, and the rest of his recitation was interrupted by fits of giggling. (Suet. Claud. 41.)

iv

C. PLINIVS ROMANO SVO S.

MIRIFICAE rei non interfuisti, ne ego quidem; sed me recens fabula excepit. Passennus Paulus, splendidus eques Romanus et in primis eruditus, scribit elegos. Gentilicium hoc illi; est enim municeps Properti atque etiam inter maiores suos Propertium numerat. Is cum recitaret, ita coepit dicere: 'Prisce, iubes.' Ad hoc Iavolenus Priscus (aderat enim ut Paulo amicissimus): 'Ego vero non iubeo.' Cogita, qui risus hominum, qui ioci. Est omnino Priscus dubiae sanitatis, interest tamen officiis, adhibetur consiliis atque etiam ius civile publice respondet. Quo magis, quod tunc fecit, et ridiculum et notabile fuit. Interim Paulo aliena deliratio aliquantum frigoris attulit. Tam sollicite recitaturis providendum est, non solum ut sint ipsi sani, verum etiam ut sanos adhibeant. Vale.

PLIN. *Ep.* vi. 15.

NOTES

Line 2. *splendidus eques Romanus*: i. e. with senatorial *census* (see note on A. IV. iii. 95) and the *latus clavus*, the broad band of purple on the tunic which was the badge of the senatorial order. The *splendidi equites* stood midway between the senatorial and equestrian orders; they were of standing for senatorial rank, but preferred the greater freedom and less responsibility of the lower order.

4. *Gentilicium hoc illi*, 'it runs in his family.'

municeps, a member of a *municipium*, 'a town, particularly in Italy, which possessed the right of Roman citizenship (together with, in most cases, the right of voting), but was governed by its own laws' (Lewis and Short). *municeps Properti* here means 'a fellow-citizen of Propertius'.

5. *Properti*: one of the chief elegiac poets of the Augustan age (*circ.* 49–15 B.C.). Propertius was a native of Mevania near Asisium (Assisi).

v. *The Prospects of the Learned Professions in Rome*

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum:
solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit, cum iam celebres notique poetae
balneolum Gabiis, Romae conducere furnos
temptarent, nec foedum alii nec turpe putarent
praecones fieri, cum desertis Aganippes
vallibus esuriens migraret in atria Clio.
nam si Pieria quadrans tibi nullus in umbra
ostendatur, ames nomen victumque Machaerae
et vendas potius commissa quod auctio vendit
stantibus, oenophorum tripedes armaria cistas
Alcithoen Pacci, Thebas et Terea Fausti.
hoc satius quam si dicas sub iudice 'vidi'
quod non vidisti, faciant equites Asiani
quamquam et Cappadoces faciant equitesque Bithyni
altera quos nudo traducit gallica talo.
nemo tamen studiis indignum ferre laborem
cogetur posthac, nectit quicumque canoris
eloquium vocale modis laurumque momordit.
hoc agite, o iuvenes. circumspicit et stimulat vos
materiamque sibi ducis indulgentia quaerit.
siqua aliunde putas rerum spectanda tuarum
praesidia atque ideo croceae membrana tabellae
implentur, lignorum aliquid posce ocius et quae
componis dona Veneris, Telesine, marito,
aut clude et positos tinea pertunde libellos.
frange miser calamum vigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parva sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus venias hederis et imagine macra.

spes nulla ulterior; didicit iam dives avarus
tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
ut pueri Iunonis avem. sed defluit aetas
et pelagi patiens et cassidis atque ligonis.
taedia tunc subeunt animos, tunc seque suamque
Terpsichoren odit facunda et nuda senectus.
accipe nunc artes. ne quid tibi conferat iste
quem colis et Musarum et Apollinis aede relicta,
ipse facit versus atque uni cedit Homero
propter mille annos, et si dulcedine famae
succensus recites, Maculonis commodat aedes.
haec longe ferrata domus servire iubetur,
in qua sollicitas imitatur ianua portas.
scit dare libertos extrema in parte sedentis
ordinis et magnas comitum disponere voces:
nemo dabit regum, quanti subsellia constant
et quae conducto pendent anabathra tigillo
quaeque reportandis posita est orchestra cathedris.
nos tamen hoc agimus tenuique in pulvere sulcos
ducimus et litus sterili versamus aratro.
nam si discedas, laqueo tenet ambitiosi
consuetudo mali; tenet insanabile multos
scribendi cacoethes et aegro in corde senescit.
sed vatem egregium, cui non sit publica vena,
qui nil expositum soleat deducere, nec qui
communi feriat carmen triviale moneta,
hunc, qualem nequeo monstrare et sentio tantum,
anxietate carens animus facit, omnis acerbi
inpatiens, cupidus silvarum aptusque bibendis
fontibus Aonidum. neque enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere maesta
paupertas atque aeris inops, quo nocte dieque
corpus eget: satur est cum dicit Horatius 'euhoe'.
quis locus ingenio, nisi cum se carmine solo

vexant et dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur
pectora vestra duas non admittentia curas?
magnae mentis opus nec de lodice paranda
attonitae, currus et equos faciesque deorum
aspicere et qualis Rutulum confundat Erinys.
nam si Vergilio puer et tolerabile desset
hospitium, caderent omnes a crinibus hydri,
surda nihil gemeret grave bucina. poscimus ut sit
non minor antiquo Rubrenus Lappa coturno,
cuius et alveolos et laenam pignerat Atreus.
non habet infelix Numitor quod mittat amico,
Quintillae quod donet habet, nec defuit illi
unde emeret multa pascendum carne leonem
iam domitum; constat leviori belua sumptu
nimirum et capiunt plus intestina poetae.
contentus fama iaceat Lucanus in hortis
marmoreis, at Serrano tenuique Saleio
gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?
curritur ad vocem iucundam et carmen amicae
Thebaidos, laetam cum fecit Statius urbem
promisitque diem; tanta dulcedine captos
adficit ille animos tantaque libidine vulgi
auditur; sed cum fregit subsellia versu,
esurit, intactam Paridi nisi vendit Agauen.
ille et militiae multis largitur honorem,
semenstri digitos vatum circumligat auro.
quod non dant proceres dabit histrio. tu Camerinos
et Baream, tu nobilium magna atria curas?
praefectos Pelopea facit, Philomela tribunos.
haut tamen invideas vati quem pulpita pascunt.
quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius
aut Fabius? quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?
tunc par ingenio pretium, tunc utile multis
pallere et vinum toto nescire decembri.

vester porro labor fecundior, historiarum
scriptores ? perit hic plus temporis atque olei plus.
nullo quippe modo millensima pagina surgit
omnibus et crescit multa damnosa papyro ;
sic ingens rerum numerus iubet atque operum lex.
quae tamen inde seges ? terrae quis fructus apertae ?
quis dabit historico quantum daret acta legenti ?
'sed genus ignavum, quod lecto gaudet et umbra.'
dic igitur quid causidicis civilia praestent
officia et magno comites in fasce libelli.
ipsi magna sonant, sed tum cum creditor audit
praecipue, vel si tetigit latus acrior illo
qui venit ad dubium grandi cum codice nomen.
tunc inmensa cavi spirant mendacia folles
conspuiturque sinus : veram deprendere messem
si libet, hinc centum patrimonia causidicorum,
parte alia solum russati pone Lacernae.
consedere duces, surgis tu pallidus Aiax
dicturus dubia pro libertate bubulco
iudice. rumpe miser tensum iecur, ut tibi lasso
figantur virides, scalarum gloria, palmae.
quod vocis pretium ? siccus petasunculus et vas
pelamydum aut veteres, Maurorum epimenia, bulbi,
aut vinum Tiberi devectum, quinque lagonae.
si quater egisti, si contigit aureus unus,
inde cadunt partes ex foedere pragmaticorum.
Aemilio dabitur quantum licet, et melius nos
egimus. huius enim stat currus aeneus, alti
quadriiuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
eminus et statua meditatur proelia lusca.
sic Pedo conturbat, Matho deficit, exitus hic est
Tongilii, magno cum rhinocerote lavari
qui solet et vexat lutulenta balnea turba

perque forum iuvenes longo premit assere Maedos,
empturus pueros argentum murrina villas ;
spondet enim Tyrio stlattaria purpura filo.
et tamen est illis hoc utile. purpura vendit
causidicum, vendunt amethystina ; convenit illi
et strepitu et facie maioris vivere census,
sed finem inpensae non servat prodiga Roma.
fidimus eloquio ? Ciceroni nemo ducentos
nunc dederit nummos, nisi fulserit anulus ingens.
respicit haec primum qui litigat, an tibi servi
octo, decem comites, an post te sella, togati
ante pedes. ideo conducta Paulus agebat
sardonyche, atque ideo pluris quam Gallus agebat,
quam Basilus. rara in tenui facundia panno.
quando licet Basilo flentem producere matrem ?
quis bene dicentem Basilum ferat ? accipiat te
Gallia vel potius nutricula causidicorum
Africa, si placuit mercedem ponere linguae.
declamare doces : o ferrea pectora Vetti,
cum perimit saevos classis numerosa tyrannos.
nam quaecumque sedens modo legerat, haec eadem stans
perferet atque eadem cantabit versibus isdem ;
occidit miseros crambe repetita magistros.
quis color et quod sit causae genus atque ubi summa
quaestio, quae veniant diversae forte sagittae,
nosse volunt omnes, mercedem solvere nemo.
' mercedem appellas ? quid enim scio ? ' ' culpa docentis
scilicet arguitur, quod laevae parte mamillae
nil salit Arcadico iuveni, cuius mihi sexta
quaque die miserum dirus caput Hannibal inplet,
quidquid id est de quo deliberat, an petat urbem
a Cannis, an post nimbos et fulmina cautus
circumagat madidas a tempestate cohortes.
quantum vis stipulare et protinus accipe. quid do

ut totiens illum pater audiat?' haec alii sex
vel plures uno conclamant ore sophistae,
et veras agitant lites raptore relicto,
fusa venena silent, malus ingratusque maritus,
et quae iam veteres sanant mortaria caecos.
ergo sibi dabit ipse rudem, si nostra movebunt
consilia, et vitae diversum iter ingredietur,
ad pugnam qui rhetorica descendit ab umbra,
summula ne pereat qua vilis tessera venit
frumenti. quippe haec merces lautissima. tempta,
Chrysogonus quanti doceat vel Polio quanti
lautorum pueros: artem scindes Theodori.
balnea sescentis et pluris porticus in qua
gestetur dominus quotiens pluit. anne serenum
expectet spargatque luto iumenta recenti?
hic potius, namque hic mundae nitet ungula mulae.
parte alia longis Numidarum fulta columnis
surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.
quanticumque domus, veniet qui fercula docte
conponat, veniet qui pulmentaria condit.
hos inter sumptus sestertia Quintiliano,
ut multum, duo sufficient; res nulla minoris
constabit patri quam filius. 'unde igitur tot
Quintilianus habet saltus?' exempla novorum
fatorum transi: felix et pulcer et acer,
felix et sapiens et nobilis et generosus,
adpositam nigrae lunam subtexit alutae;
felix orator quoque maximus et iaculator,
et, si perfrixit, cantat bene. distat enim quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.
si Fortuna volet, fies de rhetore consul;
si volet haec eadem, fiet de consule rhetor.
Ventidius quid enim? quid Tullius? anne aliud quam

sidus et occulti miranda potentia fati?
servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphum.
felix ille tamen corvo quoque rarior albo.
paenituit multos vanae sterilisque cathedrae,
sicut Thrasymachi probat exitus atque Secundi
Carrinatis; et hunc inopem vidistis, Athenae,
nil praeter gelidas ausae conferre cicutas.
di maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco. metuens virgae iam grandis Achilles
cantabat patriis in montibus et cui non tunc
eliceret risum citharoedi cauda magistri;
sed Rufum atque alios caedit sua quemque iuventus,
Rufum, quem totiens Ciceronem Allobroga dixit.
quis gremio Celadi doctique Palaemonis adfert
quantum grammaticus meruit labor? et tamen ex hoc
quodcumque est, minus est autem quam rhetoris aera,
discipuli custos praemordet acoenonoetus,
et qui dispensat, frangit sibi. cede, Palaemon,
et patere inde aliquid decrescere, non aliter quam
institor hibernae tegetis niveique cadurci,
dummodo non pereat mediae quod noctis ab hora
sedisti, qua nemo faber, qua nemo sederet
qui docet obliquo lanam deducere ferro;
dummodo non pereat totidem olfecisse lucernas,
quot stabant pueri, cum totus decolor esset
Flaccus et haereret nigro fuligo Maroni.
rara tamen merces quae cognitione tribuni
non egeat. sed vos saevas inponite leges,
ut praeceptori verborum regula constet,
ut legat historias, auctores noverit omnes
tamquam ungues digitosque suos, ut forte rogatus
dum petit aut thermas aut Phoebi balnea, dicat

nutricem Anchisae, nomen patriamque novercae
Anchemoli, dicat quot Acestes vixerit annis,
quot Siculi Phrygibus vini donaverit urnas.
exigite ut mores teneros ceu pollice ducat,
ut si quis cera vultum facit ; exigite ut sit
et pater ipsius coetus, ne turpia ludant.
'haec' inquit 'cures, et cum se verterit annus,
accipe, victori populus quod postulat, aurum.'

JUV. *Sat.* vii.

NOTES

Caesar is the Muses' only hope in an age when poets are driven to menial trades, and to sell all their belongings (1–12); and even this is better than making money by bearing false witness (13–16). But Caesar has put an end to the poets' troubles (17–21). If you expect help from any one else, you may as well destroy your books at once, since rich men nowadays will give a poet praise but no pay (22–35). Your patron makes the most miserly provision for your recitation (36–47). Yet you cannot get out of the habit of writing (48–52). Good poetry cannot be produced by a man who has always to be taking thought for his bodily needs. A patron will keep a lion, but cannot afford to send presents to a poet (53–78). Rich Lucan may be content with his glory, but poor Statius has to eke out a livelihood by writing librettos for pantomimes (79–92). The age of munificent patrons is over (93–7). Historians are no better off than poets (98–104). Even attorneys fare no better (105–23). It is only by making a display that an advocate can get on (124–49). The teacher of declamation has a monotonous existence, and often has to go to law to obtain his miserable fee (150–75). A rich man lavishes money on all kinds of luxuries, but can only spend a pittance on his son's education (176–87). Such luck as Quintilian's is rare, but there are many examples of destitute and ill-used rhetoricians (188–214). The schoolmaster's life is the most wretched of all: he has to be a paragon of omniscience, the guide and philosopher of his pupils, and at the end of the year gets no more than a successful gladiator can obtain by a single performance (215–end).

The general subject of this satire is the miserable state of the professions which can in any sense be called learned. As far as the literary profession is concerned, the state of affairs in Imperial Rome reminds us of that in the England of the eighteenth century, where the essential thing for a literary man was patronage. Johnson speaks of it with the bitterness of Juvenal, cf. The Vanity of Human Wishes, 159, 160:—

> There mark what ills the scholar's life assail—
> Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail;

and his Letter to Lord Chesterfield:—

'Seven years, my Lord, have now past, since I waited in your outward rooms, or was repulsed from your door; during which time I have been pushing on my work through difficulties, of which it is useless to complain, and have brought it at last to the verge of publication, without one act of assistance, one word of encouragement, or one smile of favour. Such treatment I did

not expect, for I never had a Patron before. The shepherd in Virgil grew at last acquainted with Love and found him a native of the rocks.

'Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help? The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind; but it has been delayed till I am indifferent, and cannot enjoy it; till I am solitary, and cannot impart it; till I am known, and do not want it. I hope it is no very cynical asperity, not to confess obligations where no benefit has been received, or to be unwilling that the publick should consider me as owing that to a Patron, which Providence has enabled me to do for myself.'

Line 1 ff. *Caesare*: Hadrian (*princeps* from A.D. 117 to 138).

tristes. Poetry though at first patronized by Domitian was afterwards neglected by him (Suet. Dom. 2). Trajan's principate was favourable to philosophy and oratory (Plin. Pan. 47), but, as far as we know, not especially so to poetry.

9. *Machaerae*: a *praeco* of the time.

12. Tragic poets of the day, who, after selling everything else, have at last to get rid of their tragedies.

16. *altera gallica*. Just as *altera Gallia* means Galatia (into which region a large number of Gauls made their way at the invitation of the Bithynian king Nicomedes in 278 B.C.), so, apparently, *altera gallica* may mean 'a Galatian shoe', *solea* being supplied.

25. *Veneris marito*: Vulcan (Hephaestus), the god of fire.

29. *imagine macra*. Asinius Pollio, the great literary patron of the Augustan age, introduced the practice of adorning libraries with the busts of literary men. Aspirants to such literary fame might well be emaciated by hard study.

36. *iste quem colis*: the poet's patron. The poet deserts the temples of the Muses and Apollo, where his recitations would be open to the general public, and reserves his works for his patron alone.

41 ff. The house is a long way off and the door is barred up, to exclude uninvited guests, as closely as the gates of a besieged town. The patron sends freedmen and clients to applaud, but will not go to the expense of hiring seats for the audience.

47. Just as in the theatre the *orchestra* or front part of the auditorium was reserved for senators, so here the name is applied to the front rows reserved for distinguished visitors at a recitation.

62. *euhoe*. Horace, Odes ii. 19. 5 'Euhoe, recenti mens trepidat metu | plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum | laetatur'. Euhoe was the regular Bacchanal cry.

64 f. *dominis Cirrhae Nysaeque feruntur*: Apollo and Bacchus. A poet inspired by such gods cannot serve Mammon.

68 ff. Cf. Verg. Aen. vii. 323 ff. King Latinus had received Aeneas favourably, so Juno sent the Fury Allecto to madden his wife Amata and Turnus.

72 f. We expect Rubrenus Lappa's tragedies to come up to the standard of the ancients, when during the time spent in writing his Atreus he can only support himself by pawning his belongings.

74 ff. A rich man who sends presents to the lady of his choice and keeps a lion, sends nothing to his friend the poet. Perhaps poets hold more than lions.

79. Lucan (A.D. 39–65), nephew of Seneca, and author of the 'Pharsalia' was very rich. His ability excited the jealousy of Nero, who forbade him to read his poems in public. He consequently joined the conspiracy of Piso (Tac. xv. 49) and was forced to commit suicide.

80. Serranus, a needy epic poet, who died young. Quintilian sees promise in his boyish works (x. 1. 89).

Saleius mentioned by Quintilian (x. 1. 90) as a vigorous epic poet, and by Tacitus (Dial. 9, A III. vi. 8, 27 in this book) as a good poet, who obtained no social importance from his poetry. He adds, however, that he got a present of 500,000 sesterces (£4,000) from Vespasian.

83. Statius (*circ.* A.D. 40–96) was the author of the Thebais, an epic on the Theban legend, and of other works. He got nothing but glory from his more serious efforts and had to eke out a living by writing librettos for pantomimes, according to Juvenal. But probably Juvenal exaggerates the poverty of Statius, who seems to have been much better off than Martial.

87. *Paridi*: a famous actor in the time of Domitian, put to death in A.D. 83 under suspicion of an intrigue with the emperor's wife Domitia.

88 ff. The attack on actors contained in these lines is said, in the lives prefixed to the MSS. of Juvenal, to have led to the exile of Juvenal at the age of eighty. Moreover Apollinaris Sidonius, a fifth-century poet who was also a Christian bishop, says that Juvenal 'irati fuit histrionis exsul'. But the emperors under whom the exile took place and the place of banishment (Egypt or Britain) are variously given, and altogether a good deal of uncertainty attaches to the tradition.

88. The position of tribune of a legion carried with it equestrian rank. One of the ways in which the emperors could raise a man to the position of *eques* was to give him this post. After six months he could retire from his military duties, with the ring, the token of equestrian rank, on his finger.

92. *Pelopea*, *Philomela*: names of saltatoriae fabulae, like *Agaue* above (l. 87), acted by pantomimi.

94 ff. In the days of such liberal patrons as Maecenas (the great statesman of the Augustan age, patron of Horace and Vergil), Proculeius (a friend of Augustus, famous for the generosity with which he divided his property among his brothers who had lost theirs in the Civil War, cf. Hor. Odes ii. 2, 5, 6), Fabius (friend of Augustus and of Ovid), and Cotta (Ovid's patron), it was worth a poet's while to work right through the Saturnalia.

104. *acta* (*diurna* or *publica*) : a daily record of personal, political, and general news founded by Caesar. In its official character it resembles the Gazette issued by the government in Stuart times.

105 ff. Historians, you may say, are out of touch with practical life and deserve no more than they get. But does the Bar offer better prospects?

108 ff. Advocates talk big about their earnings, especially if one of their creditors happens to be anywhere near, still more so if their attention is attracted by a rich litigant with a huge ledger who is trying to recover at law a doubtful debt. Then their boasts are such that they have 'conspuere in sinus', by which they superstitiously hope to avert ill-luck. Such is their own account of themselves: as a matter of fact a successful chariot-driver in the Circus could buy up a hundred advocates.

114. In the Circus four chariots generally competed, the drivers of which were distinguished by wearing white, red, blue, and green. Each of these colours was enthusiastically supported by its faction. Cp. Juv. xi. 197–8 (B. II. vii. 5, 6 in this book).

115. A mock-heroic reference to the contest between Ulysses and Ajax for the arms of Achilles. See note on A. IV. iii. 84.

118. *scalarum gloria.* The poor advocate would live in an attic up several pair of stairs.

119. *petasunculus*: a small leg of pork.

120. *pelamydum* : small tunnies.

epimenia: monthly rations.

121. Wine that came down the Tiber (e.g. the *Sabinum* and *Veientanum*) was bad. The best vintages, from Campania and Aegean, came up the Tiber.

123. *Causidici* were often ignorant of law and had to apply to *pragmatici* for the legal arguments which their eloquence was to set out.

124. Aemilius, a noble pleader, receives 100 sesterces (an *aureus*), which Claudius, in legalizing advocates' fees which under the Republic had been forbidden, had fixed as the maximum. This was four times what the poor pleader got (l. 122).

129. *conturbat*, sc. *rationes*, 'wrecks his accounts', i.e. 'becomes a bankrupt'.

134. *spondet*, 'gains him credit.' The advocate finds his pomp and luxury a good advertisement.

142. *togati*: clients who walked in front of their patron on his way to the forum.

146. An advocate who did not make a display would never be employed in a case important enough for a mother to appear in the course of it weeping for her son. The device of bringing in sorrowing relatives to melt the hearts of a jury was common both in Greece and Rome.

155. *color*: a technical term of the schools of rhetoric, denoting the varnish, gloss, or colour, by which the accused endeavours to palliate, the accuser to aggravate, the allowed facts of the case (Mayor).

162 ff. *an petat urbem a Cannis* and *an post nimbos* &c. refer to two different occasions. With regard to the second of these Livy (xxvi. 11) tells us that in 211 B.C., i.e. five years after the battle of Cannae, when the armies were drawn up ready for a battle in which Rome was to be the prize of victory, a great storm of rain and hail drove the combatants back to their camps. Another attempt to fight, on the following day, was checked by a similar storm, but as soon as the armies had retired to their camps, it became perfectly fine. The Carthaginians attached a supernatural significance to these events. It is worth noting that the story does not occur in Polybius.

168 ff. *veras agitant lites*: to get their fees (cf. 173–5 below). The topics mentioned in the next two lines were stock subjects for declamations.

177. *Theodori*: the author of a treatise (*artem*) on rhetoric. *Chrysogonus* and *Pollio* (176) were teachers of music.

186. Quintilian (*circ.* A.D. 35–95), professor of rhetoric at Rome, and author of the Institutio Oratoria, the greatest work of Latin criticism. Martial, a friend of his, addresses him (ii. 90. 1, 2):—

> Quintiliane, vagae moderator summe iuventae,
> gloria Romanae, Quintiliane, togae.

He became consul under Domitian (cf. 197 below).

192. *lunam subtexit alutae.* Senators wore a special kind of shoe with a crescent on the front of it.

199. *Ventidius* Bassus: a man of low birth, who at one time got a living by grooming mules, became a friend of Caesar and consul in 43 B.C.

Servius *Tullius*: one of the early kings of Rome, is said to have been the son of a slave-girl.

204. *Thrasymachi*: one of the great sophists of the fifth century B.C., said by the scholiast, but by no one else, to have been hanged. He is one of the characters in Plato, Republic, Book I.

Secundi Carrinatis: a rhetorician banished from Rome by Caligula.

205 f. *et hunc*: probably some contemporary rhetorician of whom we know nothing. Some think the line refers to Socrates, but Socrates was not a teacher of rhetoric, and *hunc* seems to indicate some one of recent date.

212. *citharoedi magistri*: the centaur Chiron.

214. *Rufum*: a Gaul, and so nicknamed the 'Allobrogian Cicero' by his pupils, the Allobroges being a Gallic tribe. He may have seriously considered himself superior to Cicero and have said so to his pupils.

215. *Palaemonis*. A famous *grammaticus* under Tiberius and Claudius. He bore a bad character, but was an excellent teacher.

218 f. *discipuli custos*: the *paedagogus*.

acoenonoetus: a Greek word meaning 'without common sense'.

qui dispensat: the cashier.

226 f. Vergil and Horace had already become school classics. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 20. 17, 18 (A. III. i. 17, 18 in this book) :—

> hoc quoque te manet, ut pueros elementa docentem
> occupet extremis in vicis balba senectus.

228. *Grammatici*, like rhetoricians (l. 168 above), had often to sue for their fees in the courts. For the tribune's jurisdiction see note on B. I. ix. 7.

229 ff. *vos*: i. e. the parents. There follows an ironical list of what the parent expects. The schoolmaster must never make slips in his grammar, he must have all the classics at his fingers' ends, he must be able to answer the most trivial and recondite questions which arise out of his subject, and must exercise a moral influence as well.

241. *victori*. A schoolmaster's yearly salary is only equal to what a victorious gladiator gets for a single performance. This was 5 aurei (= 500 sesterces = £4) if the gladiator was free, 4 aurei if a slave. There are other interpretations of the passage. If this is the right one, it is of course an exaggeration.

vi. *The 'Inutility' of Literature*

NAM carmina et versus, quibus totam vitam Maternus insumere optat (inde enim omnis fluxit oratio), neque dignitatem ullam auctoribus suis conciliant neque utilitates alunt; voluptatem autem brevem, laudem inanem et infructuosam consequuntur. licet haec ipsa et quae deinceps dicturus sum aures tuae, Materne, respuant, cui bono est, si apud te Agamemnon aut Iason diserte loquitur? quis ideo domum defensus et tibi obligatus redit? quis Saleium nostrum, egregium poetam vel, si hoc honorificentius est, praeclarissimum vatem, deducit aut salutat aut prosequitur? nempe si amicus eius, si propinquus, si denique ipse in aliquod negotium inciderit, ad hunc Secundum recurret aut ad te, Materne, non quia poeta es, neque ut pro eo versus facias; hi enim Basso domi nascuntur, pulchri quidem et iucundi. quorum tamen hic exitus est, ut cum toto anno, per omnis dies, magna noctium parte unum librum excudit et elucubravit, rogare ultro et ambire cogatur, ut sint qui dignentur audire, et ne id quidem gratis; nam et domum mutuatur et auditorium exstruit et subsellia conducit et libellos dispergit. et ut beatissimus recitationem eius eventus prosequatur, omnis illa laus intra unum aut alterum diem, velut in herba vel flore praecerpta, ad nullam certam et solidam pervenit frugem, nec aut amicitiam inde refert aut clientelam aut mansurum in animo cuiusquam beneficium, sed clamorem vagum et voces inanis et gaudium volucre. laudavimus nuper ut miram et eximiam Vespasiani liberalitatem, quod quingenta sestertia Basso donasset. pulchrum id quidem, indulgentiam principis ingenio mereri: quanto tamen pulchrius, si ita res familiaris exigat, se ipsum colere, suum

genium propitiare, suam experiri liberalitatem ! adice quod poetis, si modo dignum aliquid elaborare et efficere velint, relinquenda conversatio amicorum et iucunditas urbis, deserenda cetera officia utque ipsi dicunt, in nemora et lucos, id est in solitudinem secedendum est.

TAC. *Dial.* 9.

NOTES

Line 12. *Secundum*: a leader of the Bar, described in Dial. 2, with Aper as 'celeberrima tum ingenia fori nostri'.

18. Cf. Juv. Sat. vii. 45 ff. (A. III. v. 45 ff. in this book).

26. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 18 'Primus e fisco Latinis Graecisque rhetoribus annua centena constituit; praestantis poetas . . . insigni congiario magnaque mercede donavit'.

vii. *A Scholar's Life*

C. PLINIVS BAEBIO MACRO SVO S.

PERGRATVM est mihi, quod tam diligenter libros avunculi mei lectitas, ut habere omnes velis quaerasque, qui sint omnes. Fungar indicis partibus atque etiam, quo sint ordine scripti, notum tibi faciam; est enim haec quoque studiosis non iniucunda cognitio. 'De iaculatione equestri unus'; hunc, cum praefectus alae militaret, pari ingenio curaque conposuit. 'De vita Pomponi Secundi duo'; a quo singulariter amatus hoc memoriae amici quasi debitum munus exsolvit. 'Bellorum Germaniae viginti'; quibus omnia, quae cum Germanis gessimus bella, collegit. Inchoavit, cum in Germania militaret, somnio monitus. Adstitit ei quiescenti Drusi Neronis effigies, qui Germaniae latissime victor ibi periit, commendabat memoriam suam orabatque, ut se ab iniuria oblivionis adsereret. 'Studiosi tres' in sex volumina propter amplitudinem divisi, quibus oratorem ab incunabulis instituit et perfecit. 'Dubii sermonis octo'; scripsit sub Nerone novissimis annis, cum omne studiorum genus paulo liberius et erectius periculosum servitus fecisset. 'A fine Aufidi Bassi triginta unus.' 'Naturae historiarum triginta septem,' opus diffusum, eruditum nec minus varium quam ipsa natura. Miraris, quod tot volumina multaque in his tam scrupulosa homo occupatus absolverit, magis miraberis, si scieris illum aliquandiu causas actitasse, decessisse anno sexto et quinquagensimo, medium tempus distentum impeditumque qua officiis maximis qua amicitia principum egisse. Sed erat acre ingenium, incredibile studium, summa vigilantia. Lucubrare Vulcanalibus incipiebat non auspicandi causa, sed studendi, statim a nocte multa, hieme vero ab hora septima vel, cum tardissime, octava, saepe sexta. Erat sane somni paratissimi, non numquam etiam inter ipsa

studia instantis et deserentis. Ante lucem ibat ad Vespasianum imperatorem (nam ille quoque noctibus utebatur), inde ad delegatum sibi officium. Reversus domum, quod reliquum temporis, studiis reddebat. Post cibum saepe, quem interdiu levem et facilem veterum more sumebat, aestate, si quid otii, iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerpebatque. Nihil enim legit, quod non excerperet; dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum, ut non aliqua parte prodesset. Post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur, deinde gustabat dormiebatque minimum; mox quasi alio die studebat in cenae tempus. Super hanc liber legebatur, adnotabatur et quidem cursim. Memini quendam ex amicis, cum lector quaedam perperam pronuntiasset, revocasse et repeti coegisse; huic avunculum meum dixisse: 'Intellexeras nempe.' Cum ille adnuisset, 'Cur ergo revocabas? decem amplius versus hac tua interpellatione perdidimus.' Tanta erat parsimonia temporis. Surgebat aestate a cena luce, hieme intra primam noctis et tamquam aliqua lege cogente. Haec inter medios labores urbisque fremitum; in secessu solum balinei tempus studiis eximebatur. Cum dico balinei, de interioribus loquor; nam, dum destringitur tergiturque, audiebat aliquid aut dictabat. In itinere quasi solutus ceteris curis huic uni vacabat; ad latus notarius cum libro et pugillaribus, cuius manus hieme manicis muniebantur, ut ne caeli quidem asperitas ullum studiis tempus eriperet; qua ex causa Romae quoque sella vehebatur. Repeto me correptum ab eo, cur ambularem. 'Poteras' inquit 'has horas non perdere'; nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur, quod studiis non inpertiretur. Hac intentione tot ista volumina peregit electorumque commentarios centum sexaginta mihi reliquit opisthographos quidem et minutissime scriptos; qua ratione multiplicatur hic numerus. Referebat ipse potuisse se, cum procuraret in Hispania, vendere

hos commentarios Larcio Licino quadringentis milibus nummum, et tunc aliquanto pauciores erant. Nonne videtur tibi recordanti, quantum legerit, quantum scripserit, nec in officiis ullis nec in amicitia principis fuisse, rursus, cum audis, quid studiis laboris inpenderit, nec scripsisse satis nec legisse? Quid est enim, quod non aut illae occupationes inpedire aut haec instantia non possit efficere? Itaque soleo ridere, cum me quidam studiosum vocant, qui, si comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus. Ego autem tantum, quem partim publica, partim amicorum officia distringunt? quis ex istis, qui tota vita litteris adsident, collatus illi non quasi somno et inertiae deditus erubescat?

Extendi epistulam, cum hoc solum, quod requirebas, scribere destinassem, quos libros reliquisset; confido tamen haec quoque tibi non minus grata quam ipsos libros futura, quae te non tantum ad legendos eos, verum etiam ad simile aliquid elaborandum possunt aemulationis stimulis excitare. Vale. PLIN. *Ep.* iii. 5.

NOTES

Line 2. *avunculi*: Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79).

13. *Drusi Neronis*: brother of Tiberius. He carried on three campaigns in Germany (12–10 B.C.), and died during his fourth campaign in 9 B.C. Cf. Horace, Odes iv. 4. 17, 18:—

> Videre Raetis bella sub Alpibus
> Drusum gerentem Vindelici,

which refers to the campaign carried on by him and Tiberius in the Tyrol in 15 B.C.

15. '*Studiosi tres*,' sc. *libri*. The scope of the work is the same as that of Cicero's 'De Oratore'. A similar plan was afterwards carried out on a larger scale in Quintilian's 'Institutio Oratoria'.

17. '*Dubii sermonis octo*' dealt with dubious formations in declension, conjugation, and word-formation, also with etymology and the parts of speech. For the paralysing effect of despotism on literature compare Tacitus's account of the state of affairs under Domitian, Agr. 2, 3 (A. I. i. 1 ff. in this book).

20. *Aufidi Bassi*: who lived under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius, and wrote a history of the first few principates. It is not exactly known where his work started or where it was taken up by Pliny.

21. *Naturae historiarum*: the sole surviving work of the Elder Pliny, an encyclopaedia of natural science, the scrappy and incoherent style of which betrays the manner of its composition (see lines 39 ff. below).

29. *Vulcanalibus*: the yearly festival in honour of Vulcan celebrated on Aug. 23. To begin working by lamp-light on the festival of the God of fire would be a good omen, but this was not Pliny's object.

53. *de interioribus*. If the text is correct, this must refer to the actual bathing, as opposed to the undressing before and the anointing and rubbing afterwards.

64. *opisthographos*: books written on both sides of the papyrus. Cp. Juv. i. 6 (A. III. ii. 6 in this book) 'scriptus et in tergo necdum finitus Orestes'. Usually the back of the papyrus was coloured.

66. *procuraret*: held the office of *procurator*.

viii. *A Scholar's Death*

C. PLINIVS TACITO SVO S.

PETIS, ut tibi avunculi mei exitum scribam, quo verius tradere posteris possis. Gratias ago; nam video morti eius, si celebretur a te, inmortalem gloriam esse propositam. Quamvis enim pulcherrimarum clade terrarum ut populi, ut urbes memorabili casu quasi semper victurus occiderit, quamvis ipse plurima opera et mansura condiderit, multum tamen perpetuitati eius scriptorum tuorum aeternitas addet. Equidem beatos puto, quibus deorum munere datum est aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda, beatissimos vero, quibus utrumque. Horum in numero avunculus meus et suis libris et tuis erit. Quo libentius suscipio, deposco etiam, quod iniungis.

Erat Miseni classemque imperio praesens regebat. Nonum Kal. Septembres hora fere septima mater mea indicat ei apparere nubem invisitata et magnitudine et specie. Vsus ille sole, mox frigida gustaverat iacens studebatque; poscit soleas, ascendit locum, ex quo maxime miraculum illud conspici poterat. Nubes, incertum procul intuentibus ex quo monte (Vesuvium fuisse postea cognitum est), oriebatur, cuius similitudinem et formam non alia magis arbor quam pinus expresserit. Nam longissimo velut trunco elata in altum quibusdam ramis diffundebatur, credo, quia recenti spiritu evecta, dein senescente eo destituta aut etiam pondere suo victa in latitudinem vanescebat, candida interdum, interdum sordida et maculosa, prout terram cineremve sustulerat. Magnum propiusque noscendum ut eruditissimo viro visum. Iubet Liburnicam aptari; mihi, si venire una vellem, facit copiam. Respondi studere me malle, et forte ipse, quod scriberem, dederat. Egrediebatur domo; accipit codicillos Rectinae Tasci inminenti periculo exterritae

(nam villa eius subiacebat, nec ulla nisi navibus fuga); ut se tanto discrimini eriperet, orabat. Vertit ille consilium et, quod studioso animo incohaverat, obit maximo. Deducit quadriremes, ascendit ipse non Rectinae modo, sed multis (erat enim frequens amoenitas orae) laturus auxilium. Properat illuc, unde alii fugiunt, rectumque cursum, recta gubernacula in periculum tenet adeo solutus metu, ut omnis illius mali motus, omnis figuras, ut deprenderat oculis, dictaret enotaretque. Iam navibus cinis incidebat, quo propius accederent, calidior et densior, iam pumices etiam nigrique et ambusti et fracti igne lapides, iam vadum subitum ruinaque montis litora obstantia. Cunctatus paulum, an retro flecteret, mox gubernatori, ut ita faceret, monenti 'Fortes' inquit 'fortuna iuvat. Pomponianum pete.' Stabiis erat diremptus sinu medio (nam sensim circumactis curvatisque litoribus mare infunditur); ibi, quamquam nondum periculo adpropinquante, conspicuo tamen et, cum cresceret, proximo sarcinas contulerat in naves certus fugae, si contrarius ventus resedisset; quo tunc avunculus meus secundissimo invectus conplectitur trepidantem, consolatur, hortatur, utque timorem eius sua securitate leniret, deferri in balineum iubet; lotus accubat, cenat aut hilaris aut, quod est aeque magnum, similis hilari. Interim e Vesuvio monte pluribus locis latissimae flammae altaque incendia relucebant, quorum fulgor et claritas tenebris noctis excitabatur. Ille agrestium trepidatione ignis relictos desertasque villas per solitudinem ardere in remedium formidinis dictitabat. Tum se quieti dedit et quievit verissimo quidem somno. Nam meatus animae, qui illi propter amplitudinem corporis gravior et sonantior erat, ab iis, qui limini obversabantur, audiebatur. Sed area, ex qua diaeta adibatur, ita iam cinere mixtisque pumicibus oppleta surrexerat, ut, si longior in cubiculo mora, exitus negaretur. Excitatus procedit seque Pomponiano ceterisque, qui per-

vigilaverant, reddit. In commune consultant, intra tecta subsistant an in aperto vagentur. Nam crebris vastisque tremoribus tecta nutabant et quasi emota sedibus suis nunc huc, nunc illuc abire aut referri videbantur. Sub dio rursus quamquam levium exesorumque pumicum casus metuebatur; quod tamen periculorum collatio elegit. Et apud illum quidem ratio rationem, apud alios timorem timor vicit. Cervicalia capitibus inposita linteis constringunt; id munimentum adversus incidentia fuit. Iam dies alibi, illic nox omnibus noctibus nigrior densiorque; quam tamen faces multae variaque lumina solabantur. Placuit egredi in litus et ex proximo aspicere, ecquid iam mare admitteret; quod adhuc vastum et adversum permanebat. Ibi super abiectum linteum recubans semel atque iterum frigidam poposcit hausitque. Deinde flammae flammarumque praenuntius odor sulpuris alios in fugam vertunt, excitant illum. Innixus servulis duobus adsurrexit et statim concidit, ut ego coniecto, crassiore caligine spiritu obstructo clausoque stomacho, qui illi natura invalidus et angustus et frequenter interaestuans erat. Vbi dies redditus (is ab eo, quem novissime viderat, tertius), corpus inventum integrum, inlaesum opertumque, ut fuerat indutus; habitus corporis quiescenti quam defuncto similior.

Interim Miseni ego et mater. Sed nihil ad historiam, nec tu aliud quam de exitu eius scire voluisti. Finem ergo faciam. Vnum adiciam, omnia me, quibus interfueram, quaeque statim, cum maxime vera memorantur, audieram, persecutum. Tu potissima excerpes. Aliud est enim epistulam, aliud historiam, aliud amico, aliud omnibus scribere. Vale.

PLIN. *Ep.* vi. 16.

NOTES

Line 2. *avunculi mei exitum*: at the time of the great eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79, which overwhelmed Herculaneum and Pompeii.

3. *tradere possis*: i.e. in one of the later books of the 'Histories', which are no longer extant.

28. *Liburnicam*: a fast light galley, modelled on the piratical ships of the Liburni, a tribe of N. Illyria.

31. *Rectinae Tasci*, sc. *uxoris*, 'Rectina wife of Tascus.'

A. IV. PHILOSOPHY

i. *Horace's Philosophy of Life*

PRIMA dicte mihi, summa dicende Camena,
spectatum satis et donatum iam rude quaeris,
Maecenas, iterum antiquo me includere ludo.
non eadem est aetas, non mens. Veianius armis
Herculis ad postem fixis latet abditus agro,
ne populum extrema totiens exoret harena.
est mihi purgatam crebro qui personet aurem
'solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne
peccet ad extremum ridendus et ilia ducat.'
nunc itaque et versus et cetera ludicra pono;
quid verum atque decens, curo et rogo et omnis in hoc sum;
condo et compono quae mox depromere possim.
ac ne forte roges quo me duce, quo lare tuter,
nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri,
quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.
nunc agilis fio et mersor civilibus undis,
virtutis verae custos rigidusque satelles;
nunc in Aristippi furtim praecepta relabor,
et mihi res, non me rebus subiungere conor.
ut nox longa quibus mentitur amica, diesque
longa videtur opus debentibus, ut piger annus
pupillis quos dura premit custodia matrum;
sic mihi tarda fluunt ingrataque tempora, quae spem
consiliumque morantur agendi naviter id quod
aeque pauperibus prodest, locupletibus aeque,
aeque neglectum pueris senibusque nocebit.

restat ut his ego me ipse regam solerque elementis.
non possis oculo quantum contendere Lynceus,
non tamen idcirco contemnas lippus inungi;
nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis,
nodosa corpus nolis prohibere cheragra.
est quadam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.
fervet avaritia miseroque cupidine pectus:
sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem
possis et magnam morbi deponere partem.
laudis amore tumes: sunt certa piacula quae te
ter pure lecto poterunt recreare libello.
invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,
nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit,
si modo culturae patientem commodet aurem.
virtus est vitium fugere, et sapientia prima
stultitia caruisse. vides quae maxima credis
esse mala, exiguum censum turpemque repulsam,
quanto devites animi capitisque labore.
impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignis:
ne cures ea, quae stulte miraris et optas,
discere et audire et meliori credere non vis?
quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax
magna coronari contemnat Olympia, cui spes,
cui sit condicio dulcis sine pulvere palmae?
vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
'o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
virtus post nummos': haec Ianus summus ab imo
prodocet, haec recinunt iuvenes dictata senesque,
laevo suspensi loculos tabulamque lacerto.
est animus tibi, sunt mores et lingua fidesque,
sed quadringentis sex septem milia desunt:
plebs eris. at pueri ludentes 'rex eris' aiunt,
'si recte facies.' hic murus aeneus esto,

nil conscire sibi, nulla pallescere culpa.
Roscia, dic sodes, melior lex an puerorum est
nenia, quae regnum recte facientibus offert,
et maribus Curiis et decantata Camillis?
isne tibi melius suadet qui, rem facias, rem,
si possis recte, si non, quocumque modo rem,
ut propius spectes lacrimosa poemata Pupi,
an qui Fortunae te responsare superbae
liberum et erectum praesens hortatur et aptat?
quodsi me populus Romanus forte roget cur
non ut porticibus sic iudiciis fruar isdem,
nec sequar aut fugiam quae diligit ipse vel odit,
olim quod vulpes aegroto cauta leoni
respondit referam: 'quia me vestigia terrent,
omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.'
belua multorum es capitum. nam quid sequar aut quem?
pars hominum gestit conducere publica, sunt qui
frustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras,
excipiantque senes quos in vivaria mittant;
multis occulto crescit res faenore. verum
esto aliis alios rebus studiisque teneri:
idem eadem possunt horam durare probantes?
'nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis'
si dixit dives, lacus et mare sentit amorem
festinantis eri; cui si vitiosa libido
fecerit auspicium, cras ferramenta Teanum
tolletis, fabri. lectus genialis in aula est:
nil ait esse prius, melius nil caelibe vita:
si non est, iurat bene solis esse maritis.
quo teneam vultus mutantem Protea nodo?
quid pauper? ride: mutat cenacula, lectos,
balnea, tonsores, conducto navigio aeque
nauseat ac locuples quem ducit priva triremis.
si curatus inaequali tonsore capillos

occurri, rides ; si forte subucula pexae
trita subest tunicae vel si toga dissidet impar,
rides : quid mea cum pugnat sententia secum,
quod petiit spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
aestuat et vitae disconvenit ordine toto,
diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis ?
insanire putas sollemnia me neque rides,
nec medici credis nec curatoris egere
a praetore dati, rerum tutela mearum
cum sis et prave sectum stomacheris ob unguem
de te pendentis, te respicientis amici.
ad summam sapiens uno minor est Iove, dives,
liber, honoratus, pulcher, rex denique regum ;
praecipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.

HOR. *Ep.* i. 1.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. Horace tells Maecenas that he is getting too old to write lyric poetry, and must now turn to philosophy.

4. *Veianius*: a retired gladiator. *Spectatum, donatum iam rude* (l. 2) and *ludo* (l. 3) are all metaphors from the life of a gladiator, as also is *iurare in verba magistri* (l. 14).

6. *extrema harena*: i. e. approaching the parapet round the arena behind which the most distinguished spectators sat (Wickham).

18 f. *Aristippi*: the founder of the Cyrenaic school, who thought pleasure the chief end of life. Lines 16, 17 above refer to the opposing creed of Stoicism. The difference between the two ways of life is epigrammatically expressed in l. 19.

28. *Lynceus*, one of the Argonauts, famous for his keen sight.

36 f. The cure is half medical half magical (cf. *ter pure lecto*, l. 37).

54. *Ianus summus ab imo*. The exact meaning of the phrase is uncertain: it may mean 'from end to end' of an arcade in which business was transacted. Anyhow it refers to a centre of financial activity.

58. *quadringentis*: 400,000 sesterces, the sum which it was necessary to possess in order to be an *eques*.

62. The *lex Roscia* passed in 67 B. C. gave the first fourteen rows behind the *orchestra* to the *equites*. The places reserved for senators were in the *orchestra*. The law is mentioned by Horace as an instance of social importance being conferred by wealth not worth.

64. *Curiis, Camillis*: famous names of the republican period. M'. Curius Dentatus defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum in 275 B. C. M. Furius Camillus conquered Veii in 396 B. C.

67. *Pupi*: a doleful tragedian, who in an epigram admitted the dolefulness of his own tragedies. *propius*: i. e. in a seat nearer the front, cf. l. 62.

90. *Protea*: Proteus came out of the sea for his midday sleep. Any one who could catch hold of him then could learn the future. But the prophetic sea-god changed into all manner of

shapes in order to avoid disclosing the future. If his interlocutor clung fast to him during these transformations he could learn what he wanted. See Homer, Odyssey iv. 384 ff. and Verg. Georg. iv. 387 ff.

91. The rich man could urge that the charge of inconsistency applies just as much to the man of moderate means (*pauper*) as to himself.

94 ff. You have a keen eye for external oddities, e.g. in dress and personal appearance, but you neglect the weightier matter of moral inconsistency.

106 ff. An ironical summary of the Stoic paradoxes.

ii. *Avarice*

Qvi fit, Maecenas, ut nemo, quam sibi sortem
seu ratio dederit seu fors obiecerit, illa
contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentis?
'o fortunati mercatores!' gravis annis
miles ait multo iam fractus membra labore.
contra mercator, navem iactantibus Austris,
'militia est potior. quid enim? concurritur: horae
momento cita mors venit aut victoria laeta.'
agricolam laudat iuris legumque peritus,
sub galli cantum consultor ubi ostia pulsat.
ille, datis vadibus qui rure extractus in urbem est,
solos felices viventis clamat in urbe.
cetera de genere hoc, adeo sunt multa, loquacem
delassare valent Fabium. ne te morer, audi
quo rem deducam. si quis deus 'en ego' dicat
'iam faciam quod vultis: eris tu, qui modo miles,
mercator; tu, consultus modo, rusticus: hinc vos,
vos hinc mutatis discedite partibus: eia!
quid statis?' nolint. atqui licet esse beatis.
quid causae est merito quin illis Iuppiter ambas
iratus buccas inflet, neque se fore posthac
tam facilem dicat, votis ut praebeat aurem?
praeterea ne sic ut qui iocularia ridens
percurram: quamquam ridentem dicere verum
quid vetat? ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima:
sed tamen amoto quaeramus seria ludo:
ille gravem duro terram qui vertit aratro,
perfidus hic caupo, miles nautaeque per omne
audaces mare qui currunt, hac mente laborem
sese ferre, senes ut in otia tuta recedant,

aiunt, cum sibi sint congesta cibaria: sicut
parvula—nam exemplo est—magni formica laboris
ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo
quem struit haud ignara ac non incauta futuri.
quae, simul inversum contristat Aquarius annum,
non usquam prorepit et illis utitur ante
quaesitis sapiens; cum te neque fervidus aestus
demoveat lucro, neque hiems, ignis, mare, ferrum,
nil obstet tibi dum ne sit te ditior alter.
quid iuvat immensum te argenti pondus et auri
furtim defossa timidum deponere terra?
'quod si comminuas vilem redigatur ad assem.'
at ni id fit, quid habet pulchri constructus acervus?
milia frumenti tua triverit area centum,
non tuus hoc capiet venter plus ac meus: ut si
reticulum panis venalis inter onusto
forte vehas umero, nihilo plus accipias quam
qui nil portarit. vel dic quid referat intra
naturae finis viventi, iugera centum an
mille aret? 'at suave est ex magno tollere acervo.'
dum ex parvo nobis tantundem haurire relinquas,
cur tua plus laudes cumeris granaria nostris?
ut tibi si sit opus liquidi non amplius urna
vel cyatho, et dicas 'magno de flumine mallem
quam ex hoc fonticulo tantundem sumere.' eo fit
plenior ut si quos delectet copia iusto,
cum ripa simul avulsos ferat Aufidus acer.
at qui tantuli eget quanto est opus, is neque limo
turbatam haurit aquam, neque vitam amittit in undis.
at bona pars hominum decepta cupidine falso
'nil satis est' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
quid facias illi? iubeas miserum esse, libenter
quatenus id facit: ut quidam memoratur Athenis
sordidus ac dives, populi contemnere voces

sic solitus: 'populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo
ipse domi, simul ac nummos contemplor in arca.'
Tantalus a labris sitiens fugientia captat
flumina—quid rides? mutato nomine de te
fabula narratur; congestis undique saccis
indormis inhians et tamquam parcere sacris
cogeris aut pictis tamquam gaudere tabellis.
nescis quo valeat nummus, quem praebeat usum?
panis ematur, holus, vini sextarius, adde
quis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.
an vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque diesque
formidare malos fures, incendia, servos,
ne te compilent fugientes, hoc iuvat? horum
semper ego optarim pauperrimus esse bonorum.
'at si condoluit temptatum frigore corpus,
aut alius casus lecto te adfixit, habes qui
adsideat, fomenta paret, medicum roget ut te
suscitet ac gnatis reddat carisque propinquis.'
non uxor salvum te vult, non filius; omnes
vicini oderunt, noti, pueri atque puellae.
miraris, cum tu argento post omnia ponas,
si nemo praestet quem non merearis amorem?
an si cognatos, nullo natura labore
quos tibi dat, retinere velis servareque amicos,
infelix operam perdas, ut si quis asellum
in Campo doceat parentem currere frenis?
denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus
pauperiem metuas minus, et finire laborem
incipias, parto quod avebas, ne facias quod
Vmmidius quidam: non longa est fabula: dives
ut metiretur nummos; ita sordidus ut se
non umquam servo melius vestiret; adusque
supremum tempus ne se penuria victus
opprimeret metuebat. at hunc liberta securi

divisit medium, fortissima Tyndaridarum.
'quid mi igitur suades? ut vivam Naevius aut sic
ut Nomentanus?' pergis pugnantia secum
frontibus adversis componere: non ego avarum
cum veto te fieri vappam iubeo ac nebulonem.
est inter Tanain quiddam socerumque Viselli.
est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines,
quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.
illuc unde abii redeo, qui nemo, ut avarus,
se probet, ac potius laudet diversa sequentis,
quodque aliena capella gerat distentius uber
tabescat, neque se maiori pauperiorum
turbae comparet, hunc atque hunc superare laboret.
sic festinanti semper locupletior obstat,
ut, cum carceribus missos rapit ungula currus,
instat equis auriga suos vincentibus, illum
praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.
inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum
dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vita
cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.
iam satis est. ne me Crispini scrinia lippi
compilasse putes, verbum non amplius addam.

HOR. *Sat.* i. 1.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. This Satire preaches moderation, as against eager money-making, which was the only alternative to pleasure-seeking, when everything like politics was barred, as it was in France under the Second Empire.

14. *Fabium*: a Stoic teacher.

25 ff. Cf. Lucretius i. 936 ff.:—

> sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
> cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
> contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
> ut puerorum aetas improvida ludificetur
> labrorum tenus, interea perpotet amarum
> absinthi laticem deceptaque non capiatur;

and Sir W. S. Gilbert's

> For he who'd make his fellow-creatures wise
> Should always gild the philosophic pill.

36. *Aquarius*. The sun entered the sign of Aquarius on Jan. 16 (Wickham).

47. A slave who carries the bread on a journey gets no more for himself than one who does not.

58. *Aufidus*: the type of a torrent in flood.

64. *id facit*, sc. *miser est*.

68. *Tantalus* divulged the secrets entrusted to him by Zeus, and was punished by being placed, with a raging thirst, in water which receded from him whenever he tried to drink, and with fruit hanging over him out of his reach. His fate has given us the word 'tantalize'.

71 f. Your money-bags are too sacred for you to touch. You treat them as if they were pictures, merely to be looked at.

88 ff. Wickham paraphrases: 'Or can it be that you imagine that, though Nature gave you the love of kin without asking for any toil on your part, it would be a ridiculously impossible task for you to try to keep it?' *parentem frenis*: as if it was a horse.

100. *fortissima Tyndaridarum*. Clytemnestra, daughter of Tyndarus, put her husband Agamemnon to death. The freed-woman in this passage shows something of the same spirit.

101 f. *Naevius*, *Nomentanus*: spendthrifts.

103. *frontibus adversis componere*: as though there was nothing between the two.

105. i. e. there is something between excess and defect. Tanais, a freedman of Maecenas, and Visellius's father-in-law represent, in some way or other, the ideas of excess and defect.

119. Another reminiscence of Lucretius (cp. l. 25 above)

> cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis
> aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem? (iii. 938 f.).

120. *Crispini*: a Stoic.

iii. *'The Vanity of Human Wishes'*

OMNIBVS in terris, quae sunt a Gadibus usque
Auroram et Gangen, pauci dinoscere possunt
vera bona atque illis multum diversa, remota
erroris nebula. quid enim ratione timemus
aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis ut te
conatus non paeniteat votique peracti?
evertere domos totas optantibus ipsis
di faciles. nocitura toga, nocitura petuntur
militia; torrens dicendi copia multis
et sua mortifera est facundia; viribus ille
confisus periit admirandisque lacertis;
sed plures nimia congesta pecunia cura
strangulat et cuncta exuperans patrimonia census
quanto delphinis ballaena Britannica maior.
temporibus diris igitur iussuque Neronis
Longinum et magnos Senecae praedivitis hortos
clausit et egregias Lateranorum obsidet aedes
tota cohors; rarus venit in cenacula miles.
pauca licet portes argenti vascula puri
nocte iter ingressus, gladium contumque timebis
et mota ad lunam trepidabis harundinis umbra:
cantabit vacuus coram latrone viator.
prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro. sed nulla aconita bibuntur
fictilibus: tunc illa time, cum pocula sumes
gemmata et lato Setinum ardebit in auro.
iamne igitur laudas quod de sapientibus alter
ridebat, quotiens de limine moverat unum
protuleratque pedem, flebat contrarius auctor?
sed facilis cuivis rigidi censura cachinni:

mirandum est unde ille oculis suffecerit umor.
perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat
Democritus, quamquam non essent urbibus illis
praetextae trabeae fasces lectica tribunal.
quid si vidisset praetorem curribus altis
extantem et medii sublimem pulvere circi
in tunica Iovis et pictae Sarrana ferentem
ex umeris aulaea togae magnaeque coronae
tantum orbem, quanto cervix non sufficit ulla?
quippe tenet sudans hanc publicus et, sibi consul
ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem.
da nunc et volucrem, sceptro quae surgit eburno,
illinc cornicines, hinc praecedentia longi
agminis officia et niveos ad frena Quirites,
defossa in loculos quos sportula fecit amicos.
tunc quoque materiam risus invenit ad omnis
occursus hominum, cuius prudentia monstrat
summos posse viros et magna exempla daturos
vervecum in patria crassoque sub aere nasci.
ridebat curas nec non et gaudia vulgi,
interdum et lacrimas, cum Fortunae ipse minaci
mandaret laqueum mediumque ostenderet unguem.
ergo supervacua aut prope· perniciosa petuntur,
propter quae fas est genua incerare deorum.
quosdam praecipitat subiecta potentia magnae
invidiae, mergit longa atque insignis honorum
pagina. descendunt statuae restemque sequuntur,
ipsas deinde rotas bigarum inpacta securis
caedit et inmeritas franguntur crura caballis.
iam strident ignes, iam follibus atque caminis
ardet adoratum populo caput et crepat ingens
Seianus, deinde ex facie toto orbe secunda
fiunt urceoli pelves sartago matellae.
pone domi laurus, duc in Capitolia magnum

cretatumque bovem : Seianus ducitur unco
spectandus, gaudent omnes. 'quae labra, quis illi
vultus erat. numquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi
hunc hominem.' 'sed quo cecidit sub crimine? quisnam
delator quibus indicibus, quo teste probavit?'
'nil horum; verbosa et grandis epistula venit
a Capreis.' 'bene habet, nil plus interrogo.' sed quid
turba Remi? sequitur fortunam, ut semper, et odit
damnatos. idem populus, si Nortia Tusco
favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
principis, hac ipsa Seianum diceret hora
Augustum. iam pridem, ex quo suffragia nulli
vendimus, effudit curas; nam qui dabat olim
imperium fasces legiones omnia, nunc se
continet atque duas tantum res anxius optat,
panem et circenses. 'perituros audio multos.'
'nil dubium, magna est fornacula.' 'pallidulus mi
Bruttidius meus ad Martis fuit obvius aram;
quam timeo victus ne poenas exigat Aiax
ut male defensus. curramus praecipites et,
dum iacet in ripa, calcemus Caesaris hostem.
sed videant servi, ne quis neget et pavidum in ius
cervice obstricta dominum trahat.' hi sermones
tunc de Seiano, secreta haec murmura vulgi.
visne salutari sicut Seianus, habere
tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,
illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo? vis certe pila cohortes
egregios equites et castra domestica, quidni
haec cupias? et qui nolunt occidere quemquam,
posse volunt. sed quae praeclara et prospera tanti,
ut rebus laetis par sit mensura malorum?
huius qui trahitur praetextam sumere mavis,

an Fidenarum Gabiorumque esse potestas
et de mensura ius dicere, vasa minora
frangere pannosus vacuis aedilis Vlubris?
ergo quid optandum foret ignorasse fateris
Seianum; nam qui nimios optabat honores
et nimias poscebat opes, numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et inpulsae praeceps inmane ruinae.
quid Crassos, quid Pompeios evertit et illum,
ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus
magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.
ad generum Cereris sine caede ac vulnere pauci
descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.
  eloquium aut famam Demosthenis aut Ciceronis
incipit optare et totis quinquatribus optat
quisquis adhuc uno parcam colit asse Minervam,
quem sequitur custos angustae vernula capsae.
eloquio sed uterque perit orator, utrumque
largus et exundans leto dedit ingenii fons.
ingenio manus est et cervix caesa, nec umquam
sanguine causidici maduerunt rostra pusilli.
'o fortunatam natam me consule Romam!'
Antoni gladios potuit contemnere, si sic
omnia dixisset. ridenda poemata malo
quam te, conspicuae divina Philippica famae,
volveris a prima quae proxima. saevus et illum
exitus eripuit, quem mirabantur Athenae
torrentem et pleni moderantem frena theatri.
dis ille adversis genitus fatoque sinistro,
quem pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus
a carbone et forcipibus gladiosque paranti
incude et luteo Vulcano ad rhetora misit.
  bellorum exuviae, truncis adfixa tropaeis

lorica et fracta de casside buccula pendens
et curtum temone iugum victaeque triremis
aplustre et summo tristis captivos in arcu
humanis maiora bonis creduntur. ad hoc se
Romanus Graiusque et barbarus induperator
erexit, causas discriminis atque laboris
inde habuit; tanto maior famae sitis est quam
virtutis. quis enim virtutem amplectitur ipsam,
praemia si tollas? patriam tamen obruit olim
gloria paucorum et laudis titulique cupido
haesuri saxis cinerum custodibus, ad quae
discutienda valent sterilis mala robora fici,
quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata sepulcris.
expende Hannibalem: quot libras in duce summo
invenies? hic est quem non capit Africa Mauro
percussa oceano Niloque admota tepenti
rursus ad Aethiopum populos aliosque elephantos?
additur imperiis Hispania, Pyrenaeum
transilit. opposuit natura Alpemque nivemque:
diducit scopulos et montem rumpit aceto.
iam tenet Italiam, tamen ultra pergere tendit.
'actum' inquit 'nihil est, nisi Poeno milite portas
frangimus et media vexillum pono Subura.'
o qualis facies et quali digna tabella,
cum Gaetula ducem portaret belua luscum.
exitus ergo quis est? o gloria, vincitur idem
nempe et in exilium praeceps fugit atque ibi magnus
mirandusque cliens sedet ad praetoria regis,
donec Bithyno libeat vigilare tyranno.
finem animae quae res humanas miscuit olim,
non gladii, non saxa dabunt nec tela, sed ille
Cannarum vindex et tanti sanguinis ultor
anulus. i demens et saevas curre per Alpes,
ut pueris placeas et declamatio fias.

unus Pellaeo iuveni non sufficit orbis,
aestuat infelix angusto limite mundi,
ut Gyarae clausus scopulis parvaque Seripho;
cum tamen a figulis munitam intraverit urbem,
sarcophago contentus erit. mors sola fatetur
quantula sint hominum corpuscula. creditur olim
velificatus Athos et quidquid Graecia mendax
audet in historia; constratum classibus isdem
suppositumque rotis solidum mare credimus, altos
defecisse amnes epotaque flumina Medo
prandente et madidis cantat quae Sostratus alis;
ille tamen qualis rediit Salamine relicta,
in corum atque eurum solitus saevire flagellis
barbarus Aeolio numquam hoc in carcere passos,
ipsum conpedibus qui vinxerat Ennosigaeum
(mitius id sane, quod non et stigmate dignum
credidit; huic quisquam vellet servire deorum?)
sed qualis rediit? nempe una nave, cruentis
fluctibus ac tarda per densa cadavera prora.
has totiens optata exegit gloria poenas.
rex Pylius, magno si quidquam credis Homero,
exemplum vitae fuit a cornice secundae.
felix nimirum, qui tot per saecula mortem
distulit atque suos iam dextra conputat annos,
quique novum totiens mustum bibit. oro parumper
attendas quantum de legibus ipse queratur
fatorum et nimio de stamine, cum videt acris
Antilochi barbam ardentem, cum quaerit ab omni
quisquis adest socius, cur haec in tempora duret,
quod facinus dignum tam longo admiserit aevo.
haec eadem Peleus raptum cum luget Achillen,
atque alius cui fas Ithacum lugere natantem
incolumi Troia Priamus venisset ad umbras
Assaraci magnis sollemnibus Hectore funus

portante ac reliquis fratrum cervicibus inter
Iliadum lacrimas, ut primos edere planctus
Cassandra inciperet scissaque Polyxena palla,
si foret extinctus diverso tempore, quo non
coeperat audaces Paris aedificare carinas.
longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vidit
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.
tunc miles tremulus posita tulit arma tiara
et ruit ante aram summi Iovis ut vetulus bos,
qui domini cultris tenue et miserabile collum
praebet ab ingrato iam fastiditus aratro.
exitus ille utcumque hominis, sed torva canino
latravit rictu quae post hunc vixerat uxor.
festino ad nostros et regem transeo Ponti
et Croesum, quem vox iusti facunda Solonis
respicere ad longae iussit spatia ultima vitae.
exilium et carcer Minturnarumque paludes
et mendicatus victa Carthagine panis
hinc causas habuere; quid illo cive tulisset
natura in terris, quid Roma beatius umquam,
si circumducto captivorum agmine et omni
bellorum pompa animam exhalasset opimam,
cum de Teutonico vellet descendere curru?
provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
optandas, sed multae urbes et publica vota
vicerunt, igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit. hoc cruciatu
Lentulus, hac poena caruit ceciditque Cethegus
integer, et iacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

nil ergo optabunt homines? si consilium vis,
permittes ipsis expendere numinibus quid
conveniat nobis rebusque sit utile nostris.
nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
carior est illis homo quam sibi. nos animorum

inpulsu et caeca magnaque cupidine ducti
coniugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illis
notum qui pueri qualisque futura sit uxor.
ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem,
qui spatium vitae extremum inter munera ponat
naturae, qui ferre queat quoscumque labores,
nesciat irasci, cupiat nihil et potiores
Herculis aerumnas credat saevosque labores
et venere et cenis et pluma Sardanapalli.
monstro quod ipse tibi possis dare, semita certe
tranquillae per virtutem patet unica vitae.
nullum numen habes si sit prudentia, nos te,
nos facimus, Fortuna, deam caeloque locamus.

JUV. *Sat.* X.

NOTES

This Satire was imitated by Dr. Johnson in his 'Vanity of Human Wishes', published in 1749. His poem opens thus:—

> Let Observation, with extensive view,
> Survey mankind, from China to Peru;
> Remark each anxious toil, each eager strife,
> And watch the busy scenes of crowded life:
> . . . . . .
> How rarely reason guides the stubborn choice,
> Rules the bold hand, or prompts the suppliant voice;
> How nations sink, by darling schemes oppress'd,
> When Vengeance listens to the fool's request.
> Fate wings with ev'ry wish th' afflictive dart,
> Each gift of nature, and each grace of art;
> With fatal heat impetuous courage glows,
> With fatal sweetness elocution flows,
> Impeachment stops the speaker's pow'rful breath,
> And restless fire precipitates on death.

Line 16. C. Cassius Longinus 'ceteros praeminebat peritia legum' (Tac. Ann. xii. 12). He was accused by Nero in A.D. 65 ostensibly because he kept the bust of his ancestor C. Cassius, the murderer of Caesar, among his family *imagines* [the wax masks of deceased ancestors kept in the *atrium*] (Suet. Ner. 37), really for no better reason than his hereditary wealth and conspicuous virtue (Tac. Ann. xvi. 7).

Seneca, the Stoic philosopher and tutor of Nero, and the guiding influence of the first five years of his reign (A.D. 54–9), was forced to commit suicide in A.D. 65, owing to his alleged complicity with the conspiracy of Piso (Tac. Ann. xv. 60). Seneca in A.D. 58 was accused of having amassed 300,000,000 sesterces (about £2,400,000) in four years of royal favour (Tac. Ann. xiii. 42).

17. Plautius Lateranus, consul-elect, was also put to death in the Reign of Terror which followed the discovery of Piso's conspiracy. He was allowed neither to embrace his children nor to choose the manner of his death (Tac. Ann. xv. 60).

19. *puri*, 'plain', 'unornamented',)(*caelatum*, 'embossed.'

28 ff. The 'Laughing Philosopher' was Democritus of Abdera in Thrace (460–361 B.C.), the 'Weeping Philosopher', Heracleitus of Ephesus (*circ.* 500 B.C.). The contrast between the Laughing and Weeping Philosophers became a commonplace.

36. In the procession from the Capitol to the Circus Maximus before the *ludi Romani* the President of these Games, the *praetor urbanus*, rode in a triumphal chariot, clad in the richly embroidered *tunica Iovis*.

50. Abdera, like Boeotia, seems to have been famous for the stupidity of its inhabitants.

63. Aelius Sejanus was of Etruscan origin and equestrian rank. He was sole praetorian prefect from A.D. 17 and Tiberius's right-hand man till A.D. 31, the date of his fall.

74. *Nortia*: an Etruscan goddess.

77. The power of electing magistrates was transferred by Tiberius in A.D. 15 from the *comitia*, where the utmost corruption had long prevailed, to the Senate (Tac. Ann. i. 15). The people acquiesced in its own political annihilation with scarcely a murmur. This acquiescence was largely due to the compensation for the loss of political power which was offered in the shape of free distributions of food, and free games in the Circus ('panem et circenses,' l. 81).

84. Ajax, unsuccessful in the competition for the arms of Achilles, furiously upbraided the friends whom he thought to have played him false. Tiberius might well do the same. But, unfortunately for the comparison (a rhetorical commonplace), Tiberius in A.D. 31 was anything but *victus*.

93. Tiberius retired to Capreae (modern Capri) in A.D. 27 (Tac. Ann. iv. 67), and spent his time in the company of astrologers ('genus hominum potentibus infidum, sperantibus fallax, quod in civitate nostra et vetabitur semper et retinebitur', Tac. Hist. i. 22).

95. *egregii equites*, also called *splendidi equites* (A. III. iv. 2), were knights who possessed the senatorial *census* (1,000,000 sesterces, the equestrian being 400,000), and were allowed to wear the *latus clavus*, the broad purple stripe running down the front of the tunic, which was one of the special privileges of a senator.

95. *castra domestica*. Sejanus concentrated the praetorian cohorts, hitherto scattered about Rome, into a single camp, thereby greatly enhancing his powers as praetorian prefect, A.D. 23 (Tac. Ann. iv. 1).

108 f. As typical instances of those who 'sink beneath misfortune's blow, with louder ruin, to the gulfs below', Juvenal cites the members of the First Triumvirate. Of these, M. Licinius Crassus, famous for his wealth, fell in battle against the Parthians at Carrhae in 53 B.C., Cn. Pompeius Magnus, the conqueror of the East, was murdered on landing in Egypt in his flight after the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., C. Julius Caesar, conqueror of Gaul, 'ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites', was assassinated by Brutus, Cassius, and the other 'Liberators' in 44 B.C.

114. Demosthenes, the greatest of Greek orators (384–322 B.C.), was the son of the owner of a large sword factory (referred to below, ll. 130–2). He put the rhetoric he had learnt at school to practical use in the legal proceedings which he took against his guardians for mismanaging his property. He spent his life in

rousing his fellow-citizens to stand for Greek liberty against Philip of Macedon. Even after the real issue was settled in favour of Philip by the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., Demosthenes continued to agitate. After the futile revolt against Macedon, which followed the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., and in which Athens took a leading part, Demosthenes took poison to avoid falling into the hands of the Macedonian regent, Antipater.

M. Tullius Cicero, the greatest Roman orator (106–43 B.C.), was murdered by order of M. Antonius, on whom a few months before he had made a scathing attack in the Second Philippic, the most brilliant of his speeches (referred to below in lines 125–6). The peroration of this speech, or rather pamphlet (for it was never delivered), contains the words 'Contempsi Catilinae gladios, non pertimescam tuos', which are echoed in line 123 below.

115. The *Quinquatria* (or *Quinquatrus*) was a festival held from March 19th to 23rd in honour of Minerva: it owes its name to the fact that it began on the fifth day after the Ides. It was kept as a holiday in schools, and the school year began at the end of it. The school fees appear to have been paid annually at this time: but *uno parcam colit asse Minervam* in the next line refers not to these, but to an entrance fee or *Minerval*.

122. A quotation from Cicero's poem 'on his own times'. Cf. Ep. ad Fam. i. 9. 23 'Scripsi enim versibus tres libros de temporibus meis'. Another half line from the same poem is quoted in the Second Philippic xiv. 20 'Cedant arma togae'.

147. Hannibal (247–183 B.C.) accompanied his father Hamilcar to Spain, which was brought under the sway of Carthage (236–228 B.C.), cf. line 151 below. In 218 B.C. the storming of Saguntum, a Spanish town in alliance with Rome, by Hannibal, led to the outbreak of the Second Punic War. In the same year Hannibal crossed the Alps. His successive victories on the Ticinus and the Trebia (218 B.C.), at Lake Trasimene (217 B.C.), and at Cannae (216 B.C.), made it seem only too likely that the one-eyed general would be carried into Rome on his sole surviving elephant (l. 158; Livy xxii. 2). But the strategy of Fabius Cunctator, the inadequacy of the support received by Hannibal from home, the Roman successes in Spain under the Scipios and in Sicily under Marcellus, and finally the defeat and death of Hasdrubal at the Metaurus in 207 B.C., prevented Italy from falling permanently into the hands of the Carthaginians. The Romans in 204 B.C. carried the war into Africa, and in 202 B.C. the final battle was fought at Zama. Some years afterwards Hannibal, compelled to flee from Carthage, took refuge at the court of Antiochus III, king of Syria. In 190 B.C. on the conclusion of peace between that monarch and Rome, the surrender

of Hannibal was insisted upon. He fled to Prusias of Bithynia (cf. l. 161), and remained with him till 183 B.C., when the Romans again demanded his surrender. Thereupon Hannibal took poison, it is said from a ring (cf. ll. 165-6), which Juvenal aptly calls 'the avenger of Cannae'. This description is all the more apt, if we accept the statement of Livy (xxiii. 12), that Hannibal sent home a *modius* of golden rings taken from the *equites* killed at Cannae.

153. *montem rumpit aceto.* This appears in Livy's account (xxi. 37), but is not accepted by Polybius.

166. Cf. Johnson, Vanity of Human Wishes, 221-2:—

> He left a name, at which the world grew pale,
> To point a moral, or adorn a tale.

Johnson's Hannibal is Charles XII of Sweden. His other chief instances of fallen greatness are Wolsey, Laud, and Charles Albert, Elector of Bavaria, who, a few years before the poem was written, engaged in the war of the Austrian Succession against Maria Theresa. But some of Juvenal's characters are retained, e. g. Democritus and Xerxes. To Juvenal's examples of futile effort, Johnson, with reference to his own career, adds the life of the scholar :—

> There mark what ills the scholar's life assail—
> Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail. (159-60).

168. *Pellaeo iuveni*: Alexander the Great (356-323 B.C.) born at Pella, which Philip, Alexander's father, had made the capital of Macedon. Alexander's conquest of the Persian Empire (334-331 B. C.), and campaigns in India (327-5 B. C.), had given men cause to think that one world was too small for him. He died in the brick-built (cf. l. 171) city of Babylon.

174. The first armada sent against Greece by Persia under the command of Mardonius was wrecked off Mount Athos, 492 B. C. Accordingly Xerxes, to insure his own expedition (480 B. C.) against a similar disaster, dug a canal through the isthmus behind the promontory (Hdt. vii. 22 f.). He also built a bridge of boats across the Hellespont from Sestos to Abydos (Hdt. vii. 33 f.; ll. 175, 176 below). Even though the word of Herodotus may not always be worth more than that of the bedraggled poet Sostratus, and though we are not bound to take literally the statement (Hdt. vii. 21; ll. 176-8 below) that the Persians drank whole rivers dry, yet traces of the canal through Athos are still visible, and there is no reason to doubt that the bridge of boats was actually made. The caprice of the despot may well have led him to scourge the winds (l. 180), and Herodotus (vii. 35) tells us that he not only ordered fetters to be thrown into the Hellespont (l. 182), but even sent men to brand it as a disobedient slave (ll. 183, 184). After his defeat

by the Greeks at Salamis, he returned, if not in a single ship (l. 185), at any rate with a greatly reduced armament.

188. *rex Pylius.* Nestor, father of Antilochus (l. 195), was said to have survived three generations, and thus to have approached the proverbial longevity of the crow (l. 189). Having reached the age of a hundred, he had henceforth to use his right hand in counting up his years (l. 191), units and tens being counted on the left hand, hundreds on the right.

198. Nestor was not the only Homeric hero who found old age a doubtful blessing. Peleus had to mourn the loss of his son Achilles (l. 198), Laertes, king of Ithaca (l. 199), the wanderings of his storm-tossed son Ulysses. Priam too (l. 200) might have gone down to the shade of Assaracus (his great-uncle) without witnessing the Sack of Troy, and bewailed by his daughters Cassandra and Polyxena, if he had died before Paris set out to carry off Helen (l. 206).

214. Hecuba, wife of Priam, was, according to a late account, changed into a dog. It is suggested that the myth arose from the canine snarls which lent emphasis to her recriminations.

215. Mithradates VI Eupator ruled over Pontus from 120 to 63 B.C. A large portion of his life was spent in wars with Rome. In 88 B.C. he occupied almost the whole of the Roman province of Asia, and massacred 80,000 Roman citizens. Subsequent campaigns were conducted against him by Sulla and Lucullus. Finally, deserted by his own son, and hard pressed by Pompey he committed suicide, at the age of 68 or 69.

216. Croesus ruled over Lydia from 560 to 546 B.C. He subjugated all the Greek cities of the western coast of Asia Minor with the exception of Miletus, and extended his empire from the Halys to the Aegean. Solon, the great Athenian law-giver (*circ.* 638–558 B.C.), is said by Herodotus to have visited Croesus at his capital Sardis, and to have told him that until a man dies he may not rightly be called happy, but only fortunate (Hdt. i. 32). There is no independent evidence to confirm Herodotus' account of Croesus, which moreover is hard to reconcile with the known chronology. Hence it cannot be regarded as trustworthy history: but the story of Croesus is exactly of the kind which the Greeks liked to dwell on. Cf. the story of Polycrates and his ring.

218 ff. The Teutones tried to get into Italy from Provence, and were crushed by Marius at Aquae Sextiae 102 B.C. The Cimbri in concert with them did enter Italy not from Gaul but from the north. Their route is not certainly identified, but at any rate it was by a path east of the St. Gothard. Marius's colleague Catulus was set to oppose them, but Marius was able to come and reinforce him before the decisive battle, which was fought in the Raudine Plain in 101 B.C.

In 88 B.C. Marius was driven from Rome by Sulla and forced to take refuge first in the marshes of Minturnae in Latium and afterwards at Carthage (ll. 218–19). In 86 B.C. he became consul for the seventh time, but died after a few days of office.

225. Pompey recovered from the fever which he caught at Naples in 50 B.C., only to perish two years later on landing in Egypt, on his flight from Pharsalus, when his head was cut off in the presence of Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Even the ringleaders of the Catilinarian conspiracy (63 B.C.) were spared this indignity (ll. 228–30).

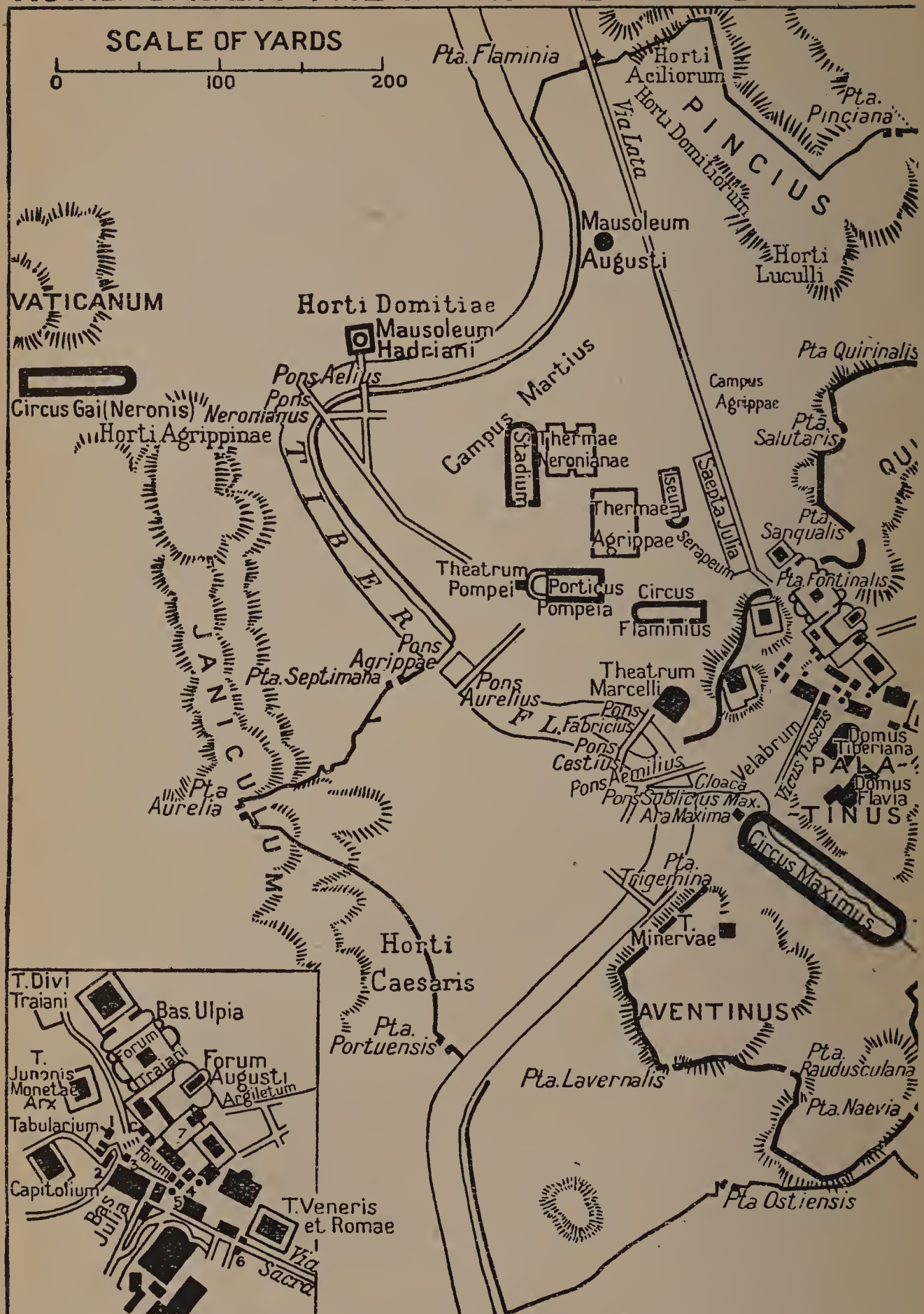
241. Cf. Johnson, Vanity of Human Wishes, 359–64 :—

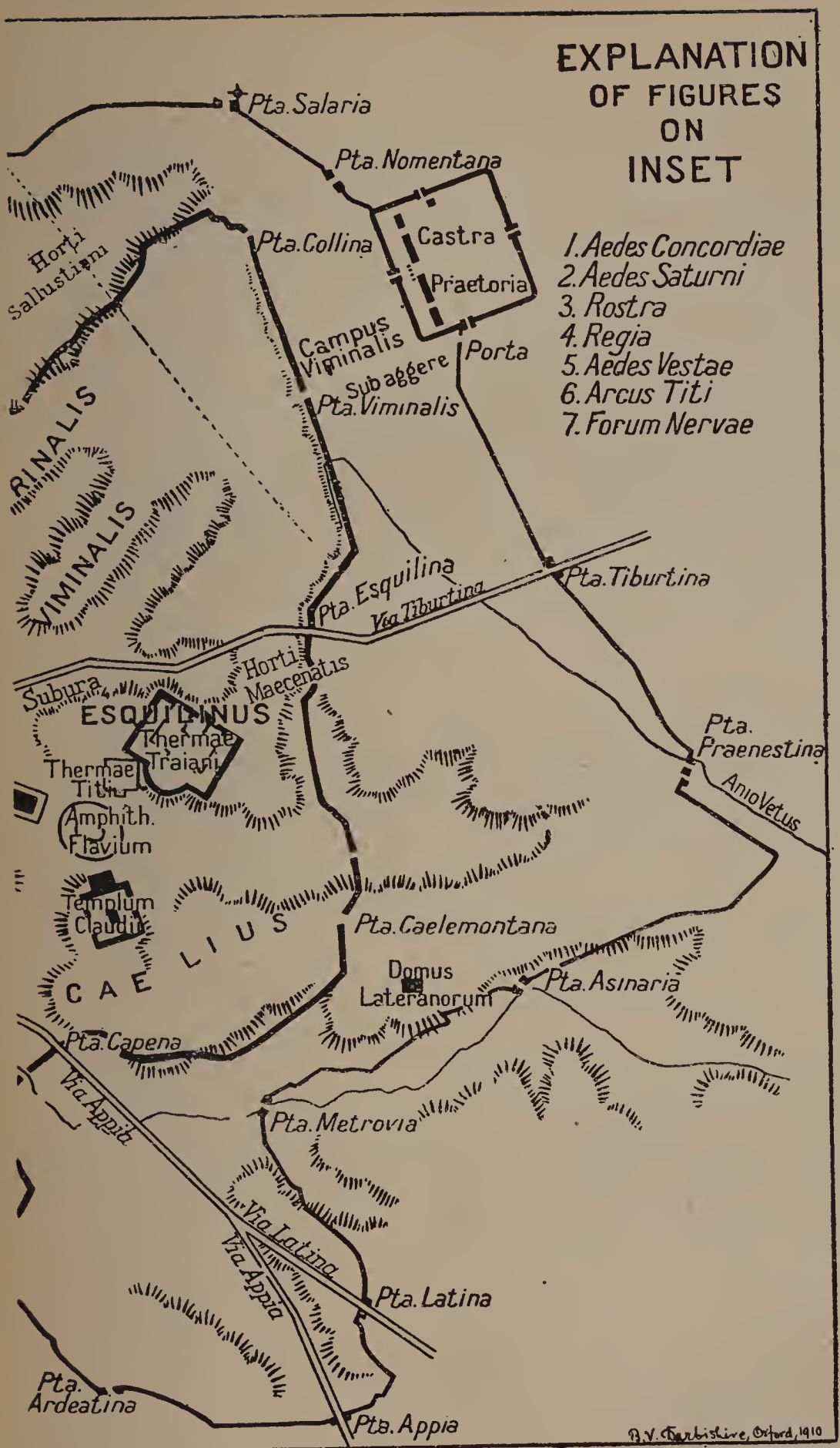
> Pour forth thy fervours for a healthful mind,
> Obedient passions, and a will resign'd ;
> For love, which scarce collective man can fill ;
> For patience, sov'reign o'er transmuted ill :
> For faith, that, panting for a happier seat,
> Counts death kind Nature's signal of retreat.

The passage well illustrates the way in which Johnson has expanded and altered Juvenal.

247. Sardanapallus, the historian Ctesias (*circ.* 400 B.C.) relates, was the last king of Nineveh, and lived a licentious and effeminate life, but, on the appearance of a Median army before Nineveh, displayed great vigour and courage. After a siege of two years he is said to have collected his wives and treasures, placed them on a pyre, and himself shared their destruction. He went down to posterity, notwithstanding, as a type of effeminate luxury. The inscriptions show that as a matter of fact the last king of Nineveh was called Sin-sharra-ishkun, and we know practically nothing about him.

ROME UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE




EXPLANATION OF FIGURES ON INSET
1. Aedes Concordiae
2. Aedes Saturni
3. Rostra
4. Regia
5. Aedes Vestae
6. Arcus Titi
7. Forum Nervae
Pta. Salaria
Pta. Nomentana
Pta. Collina
Castra
Praetoria
Horti Sallustiani
Campus Viminalis
Porta
Sub aggere
Pta. Viminalis
RINALIS
VIMINALIS
Pta. Esquilina
Via Tiburtina
Pta. Tiburtina
Horti Maecenatis
Subura
ESQUILINUS
Thermae Traiani
Thermae Titi
Amphith. Flavium
Templum Claudii
Pta. Praenestina
Anio Vetus
CAELIUS
Pta. Caelemontana
Domus Lateranorum
Pta. Asinaria
Pta. Capena
Via Appia
Pta. Metrovia
Via Latina
Via Appia
Pta. Latina
Pta. Ardeatina
Pta. Appia
B. V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910

INDEX NOMINVM

Academia II. i. 150.
Academicus II. i. 66, 110.
Acestes III. v. 235.
Achaia II. i. 69.
Achilles III. v. 210, IV. iii. 198.
Acilius, *Glabrio*, I. ii. 58.
Actium I. iii. 5.
Adriacus rhombus I. ii. 3.
Aeacus I. iv. 90, 97, 109, 123, III. ii. 10.
Aemilius III. v. 124.
Aeoliae rupes III. ii. 8.
Aeolius carcer IV. iii. 181.
Aethiopes IV. iii. 150.
Africa III. v. 149, IV. iii. 148.
Agamemnon, *dramatis persona*, III. vi. 7.
Aganippe III. v. 6.
Agatho, *causidicus*, I. iv. 83.
Agaue, *mimus*, III. v. 87.
Agricola, *Gn. Iulius*, I. i. 34, 36, 49, 78, 81.
Aiax, *Telamonis f.*, III. v. 115, IV. iii. 84.
Alba, *Longa*, I. ii. 25.
Albana arx I. i. 39, ii. 108.
Albanus I. ii. 64.
Alcithoe, *tragoedia*, III. v. 12.
Allobrox Cicero, Rufus, III. v. 214.
Alpes IV. iii. 166.
Alpis IV. iii. 152.
Anchemoli noverca III. v. 235.
Anchisae nutrix III. v. 234.
Ancon I. ii. 4.
Antilochus IV. iii. 195.
Antonius, *triumvir*, IV. iii. 123.
Aonides III. v. 59.
Aper II. i. 2, 168.
Apollo III. v. 37.
Appius Silanus I. iv. 68.
Aprilis, III. iii. 2.
Aquarius IV. ii. 36.
Arcadicus III. v. 160.
Aricini axes I. ii. 80.
Aristippi praecepta IV. i. 18.
Armillatus, *delator*, I. ii. 17.
Arulenus Rusticus I. i. 1.
Arviragus I. ii. 90.
Asia II. i. 69, IV. iii. 208.
Asiani equites III. v. 14.
Asinius Pollio II. i. 216.
Assaracus IV. iii. 201.
Athenae III. v. 205, IV. ii 64, iii. 127.
Athos velificatus IV. iii. 174.
Atia, *Augusti mater*, II. i. 23.
Atreus, *tragoedia*, III. v. 73.
Atrides, *Domitianus*, I. ii. 29.
Aufidius Bassus III. vii. 20.
Aufidus IV. ii. 58.
Augustus, *Octavianus*, I. iv. 24, 35; II. i. 23
Augustus (*princeps*) IV. iii. 77.
Aurelia, *Iul. Caesaris mater*, II. i. 23.
Aurora IV. iii. 2.
Auster IV. ii. 6.

Baebius, Massa, *delator*, I. i. 40.
Baiae IV. i. 83.
Barea III. v. 91.
Basilus III. v. 145, 146, 147.
Bassus, Aufidius, III. vii. 20.
Bassus, *Saleius*, III. vi. 14, 27.
Bellona I. ii. 87.
Bithyni equites III. v. 15.
Bithynus tyrannus IV. iii. 162.
Britannia I. iii. 26.

Britannica ballaena IV. iii. 14.
Britannus I. ii. 89.
Bruttidius IV. iii. 83.
Brutus, *a regibus liberator*, I. ii. 67.
Brutus, *Ciceronis liber*, II. i. 62.

Caesar, *C. Iulius*, II. i. 23, 215.
Caesar, *Caligula*, I. iv. 120, 122, 123.
Caesar, Claudius, *princeps*, III. iii. 13.
Caesar, *Domitianus*, I. ii. 98.
Caesar Nerva I. i. 17.
Caesar, *princeps*, I. ii. 15, III. v. 1, IV. iii. 86.
Calvus II. i. 217.
Camena IV. i. 1.
Camenae III. v. 2.
Camerini III. v. 90.
Camilli IV. i. 64.
Campania I. iii. 31, IV. iii. 225.
Campus, *Martius*, IV. ii. 91.
Cannae III. v. 163, IV. iii. 165.
Capitolia, IV. iii. 65.
Capitolium I. iii. 32.
Cappadoces equites III. v. 15.
Capreae IV. iii. 72, 93.
Carbo C. II. i. 215.
Carrinas Secundus, III. v. 205.
Carthago IV. iii. 219.
Carus Metius, *delator*, I. i. 39.
Cassandra IV. iii. 204.
Catilina IV. iii. 230.
Cato C. II. i. 216.
Catullus, *Messalinus*, I. ii. 76.
Celadus III. v. 215.
Cererisgener, *Pluto*, IV. iii. 112.
Cethegus, *Catilinarius*, IV. iii. 229.
Chaldaeus grex IV. iii. 94.
Chatti I. ii. 110.
Christiani I. v. 5 *et passim.*
Christus I. v. 25, 31, 33.
Chrysogonus III. v. 176.
Cicero II. i. 62, 71, 148, 220, 223, III. v. 139, IV. iii. 114.
Cicero Allobrox III. v. 214.
Cilicis pugnae I. ii. 84.
Circeis ostrea I. ii. 103.
Cirrha III. v. 64.
Claudiana lingua I. iv. 95.
Claudius, *princeps*, I. iv. 23, 28, 31, 53, 68, 78, 81, 89, 101, 106, III. iii. 12.
Clio III. v. 7.
Cordus III. ii. 2.
Cornelia, *Gracchorum mater*, II. i. 22.
Cornelia lex I. iv. 90.
Corvinus Messala I. iv. 43.
Cotta III. v. 95.
Crassi IV. iii. 108.
Crassus L., *orator*, II. i. 214, 222.
Crispinus, *praef. praetorio*, I. ii. 71.
Crispinus, *lippus*, IV. ii. 120.
Crispus, *Vibius*, I. ii. 45.
Croesus IV. iii. 216.
Curii IV. i. 64.
Cyllenius, *Mercurius*, I. iv. 74.

Daci I. ii. 74.
Dacus I. iii. 27.
December III. i. 27.
Democritus IV. iii. 34.
Demosthenes II. i. 146, IV. iii. 114.
Diespiter I. iv. 19.
Diodotus Stoicus II. i. 66.
Dolabella II. i. 215.
Domitianus, *princeps*, I. i. 44, iii. 15.
Domitius, *Crassi oratoris collega in censura*, II. i. 222.
Dorica Ancon I. ii. 4.
Drusus Nero III. vii. 13.

Ennosigaeus IV. iii. 182.
Epicurus II. i. 111.
Erinys III. v. 68.

Fabius, *Ovidi Nasonis patronus*, III. v. 95.

Fabius loquax, *Stoicus*, IV. ii. 14.
Fabricius, *Veiento*, I. ii. 92.
Falernum, *vinum*, I. ii. 101.
Faustus III. v. 12.
Fidenae IV. iii. 100.
Flaccus, *Horatius*, III. v. 227.
Flavi ludus II. ii. 28.
Flavius I. ii. 1.
Fortuna III. v. 197, IV. i. 68, iii. 52, 227, 251.
Fronto III. ii. 12.
Fuscus, *Cornelius*, I. ii. 75.

Gabii III. v. 4, IV. iii. 100.
Gades IV. iii. 1.
Gaetula belua IV. iii. 158.
Galba, Servius, *princeps*, I. iii. 1, 13.
Gallia III. v. 148.
Galliae I. iii. 25.
Gallus, *causidicus*, III. v. 144.
Ganges IV. iii. 2.
Germani III. vii. 11.
Germania III. vii. 10, 11, 12, 13.
Glyco, *athletes*, IV. i. 30.
Gracchi II. i. 23.
Graecia mendax IV. iii. 174.
Graecula II. i. 31.
Graecus II. i. 146.
Graius IV. iii. 138.
Gyara IV. iii. 170.

Hannibal III. v. 161, IV. iii. 147.
Hector IV. iii. 201.
Helvidius Priscus I. i. 2, 41.
Hercules I. iv. 22, 31, IV. i. 5, iii. 246.
Herennius Senecio I. i. 1.
Hispania III. vii. 66, IV. iii. 151.
Homerus III. v. 38, IV. iii. 188.
Horatius, *Flaccus*, III. v. 62.

Ianus I. iv. 6, III. i. 1.
Ianus summus ab imo IV. i. 54.
Iason, *dramatis persona*, III. vi. 7.
Iavolenus Priscus III. iv. 7.
Ilerda III. i. 13.
Iliades IV. iii. 203.
Illyricum I. iii. 25.
Indi IV. i. 45.
Iovis tunica IV. iii. 38.
Italia I. iii. 29, II. i. 8, IV. iii. 154.
Ithacus IV. iii. 199.
Iuliae duae I. iv. 50.
Iulius, *mensis*, I. iv. 7.
Iunonis avis III. v. 32.
Iuppiter I. iv. 1, 52, 56, IV. i. 106, ii. 20, iii. 210.
Ixion I. iv. 104.

Lacerna III. v. 114.
Lamiae I. ii. 117.
Lappa Rubrenus III. v. 72.
Larcius Licinus III. vii. 67.
Larvae I. iv. 17.
Laterani IV. iii. 17.
Lentulus, *poetarum patronus*, III. v. 95.
Lentulus, *Catilinarius*, IV. iii. 229.
Lepidus, *cos. a. C.* 65, III. i. 28.
Letoia stirps I. vi. 3.
Liburnica, *navis*, III. viii. 28.
Liburnus I. ii. 39.
Lollius, *cos. a. C.* 65, III. i. 28.
Longinus IV. iii. 16.
Lucanus III. v. 79.
Lucrinum saxum I. ii. 104.
Lycaonius axis I. vi. 2.
Lynceus IV. i. 28.

Machaera, *praeco*, III. v. 9.
Maculonis aedes III. v. 40.
Maecenas II. ii. 3, III. v. 94, IV. i. 3, ii. 1.
Maedi III. v. 132.
Maeotica glacies I. ii. 6.
Maro, *Vergilius*, III. v. 227.
Martis ara IV. iii. 83.
Martis lucus III. ii. 8.

Massa Baebius, *delator*, I. i. 40.
Maternus II. i. 1, 156, III. vi. 1, 6, 13.
Matho III. v. 129.
Mauri III. v. 120.
Mauricus, *Iunius*, I. i. 42.
Maurus IV. iii. 148.
Medus, *Xerxes*, IV. iii. 177.
Menander I. iv. 123.
Mercurius I. iv. 77.
Messalina I. iv. 58, 69.
Messalinus, *delator*, I. i. 40.
Messalla II. i. 1, 169.
Messalla Corvinus I. iv. 43.
Metamorphoses *Ovidi*, I. iv. 29.
Metius Carus, *delator*, I. i. 39
Metrodorus II. i. 111.
Minerva IV. iii. 116.
Minturnae IV. iii. 218.
Misenum III. viii. 14, 89.
Montanus, *T. Iunius*, I. ii. 70, 94.
Monychus III. ii. 11.
Mucius, *Scaevola*, II. i. 65.
Musa I. vi. 6.
Musae III. v. 37.

Naevius, *prodigus*, IV. ii. 101.
Nero I. i. 43; ii. 100, iii. 57, 67, IV. iii. 15.
Nero calvus, *Domitianus*, I. ii. 2.
Nero Drusus III. vii. 13, 18.
Nero falsus I. iii. 28.
Nerva Caesar I. i. 17.
Nerva divus I. iii. 18.
Nerva Traianus I. i. 19.
Nilus IV. iii. 149.
Nomentanus, *prodigus*, IV. ii. 102.
Nonianus III. iii. 15.
Nortia IV. iii. 74.
Numidae I. ii. 64, III. v. 182.
Numitor III. v. 74.
Nysa III. v. 64.

Occidens I. iii. 24.
Olympia, *praemia*, IV. i. 50.
Olympus I. iv. 72.
Orestes, *tragoedia*, III. ii. 6.
Oriens I. iii. 24.
Otho, *princeps*, I. iii. 13.
Ovidius, *Naso*, I. iv. 30.

Paccius III. v. 12.
Paetus Thrasea I. i. 1.
Palaemon III. v. 215, 219.
Palfurius, *delator*, I. ii. 17.
Paris, *pantomimus*, III. v. 87.
Paris, *Troianus*, IV. iii. 206.
Parthi I. iii. 28.
Passennus Paulus III. iv. 2.
Paulus Passennus III. iv. 2, 8, 12.
Paulus, *causidicus*, III. v. 143.
Pedo III. v. 129.
Pedo Pompeius I. iv. 96.
Pegasus, *praef. urbi*, I. ii. 41.
Peleus IV. iii. 198.
Pellaeus iuvenis, *Alexander*, IV. iii. 168.
Pelopea, *mimus*, III. v. 92.
Peripateticus II. i. 108.
Petronius, P., *Claudii convictor*, I. iv. 94.
Philippica, *oratio secunda*, IV. iii. 125.
Philo Academicus II. i. 66.
Philomela, *mimus*, III. v. 92.
Phoebi balnea III. v. 233.
Phryx III. v. 236.
Picens I. ii. 29.
Pierides I. vi. 3.
Pierius III. v. 8, 60.
Plato II. i. 110, 147.
Pluto, Cereris gener, IV. iii. 112.
Poenus IV. iii. 155.
Pollio Asinius II. i. 216.
Pollio, *musicus* III. v. 176.
Polyxena IV. iii. 204.
Pompeius, *comes Domitiani*, I. ii. 73.
Pompeius Pedo I. iv. 96.
Pompeius, *triumvir*, IV. iii. 225.

Pompeii, *gens*, IV. iii. 108.
Pomponianus III. viii. 45, 65.
Pomponius Secundus III. vii. 8.
Pontus I. ii. 7, vi. 8, IV. iii. 215.
Priamus IV. iii. 200.
Priscus Helvidius I. i. 2.
Priscus Iavolenus III. iv. 7, 9.
Proculeius III. v. 94.
Prometheus I. ii. 96.
Propertius, *poeta*, III. iv. 5, 6.
Proteus IV. i. 90.
Pupius IV. i. 67.
Pylius rex, *Nestor*, IV. iii. 188.
Pyrenaeus IV. iii. 151.

Quintilianus III. v. 186, 189.
Quintilla III. v. 75.
Quirites IV. iii. 45, 109.

Rectina III. viii. 31, 35.
Remi turba IV. iii. 73.
Roma I. ii. 2, II. ii. 32, III i. 10, v. 4, IV. iii. 221.
Roma, arcanum posse principem alibi quam Romae fieri, I. iii. 61.
Roma domusque subit I. vi. 21.
Roma prodiga III. v. 138.
Romam natam me consule IV. iii. 122.
Romanus I. i. 6, iii. 4, 50, iv. 82, v. 18, II. ii. 4, IV. i. 70, iii. 138.
Romulus I. iv. 27.
Roscia lex, *theatralis*, IV. i. 62.
Rubrenus Lappa III. v. 72.
Rubrius I. ii. 69.
Rufus Allobrox Cicero III. v. 213, 214.
Rusticus Arulenus I. i. 1, 42.
Rutulus, *Turnus*, III. v. 68.
Rutupinus fundus I. ii. 104.

Salamis IV. iii. 179.
Saleius, *Bassus*, *poeta*, III. v. 80; vi. 8.
Sardanapallus IV. iii. 247.
Sarmatae I. iii. 26.
Sarrana aulaea togae IV. iii. 38.
Satureianus caballus II. ii. 15.
Saturnalia I. iv. 88.
Scythia I. vi. 1.
Secundus II. i. 2, 168, III. vi. 12.
Secundus Carrinas III. v. 204.
Secundus *Plinius* I. v. 57.
Secundus Pomponius III. vii. 8
Seianus IV. iii. 63, 66, 76, 89, 90, 104.
Seneca IV. iii. 16.
Senecio Herennius I. i. 2, 43.
September, *mensis*, III. viii. 15.
Seriphos IV. iii. 170.
Serranus III. v. 80.
Servius Galba, *princeps*, I. iii. 1.
Setinum, *vinum*, IV. iii. 27.
Siculus III. v. 236.
Silanus Appius I. iv. 68.
Silanus L. I. iv. 52.
Solon IV. iii. 216.
Sosii III. i. 2.
Sostratus IV. iii. 178.
Stabiae III. viii. 46.
Statius III. v. 83.
Stoicus II. i. 67, 114.
Subura IV. iii. 156.
Suebi I. iii. 27.
Sulla III. ii. 16.
Sycambri I. ii. 110.

Tanais, *libertus*, IV. ii. 105.
Tantalus I. iv. 103, IV. ii. 68.
Tascus III. viii. 31.
Teanum, *Sidicinum*, IV. i. 86.
Telephus, *tragoedia*, III. ii. 5.
Telesinus III. v. 25.
Tereus, *tragoedia*, III. v. 12.
Terpsichore III. v. 35.
Teutonicus currus IV. iii. 224.
Thebae Fausti, *tragoedia*, III. v. 12.

Thebais, *Statii*, III. v. 83.
Theodori, *rhetoris* ars, III. v. 177.
Theseis Cordi III. ii. 2.
Thrasea Paetus I. i. 1.
Thrasymachus III. v. 204.
Tiberi vinum devectum III. v. 121.
Titus, *princeps*, I. iii. 15.
Tongilius III. v. 130.
Traianus, *princeps*, I. i. 19; I. iii. 18.
Troia IV. iii. 200.
Troianus ignis I. ii. 25.
Tullius, *Servius*, III. v. 199.
Tuscus, *Seianus*, IV. iii. 74.
Tyndaridarum fortissima IV. ii. 100.
Tyrium filum III. v. 134.

Ulubrae IV. iii. 102.
Ummidius, *sordidus*, IV. ii. 95.
Utica III. i. 13.

Varius II. ii. 11.
Vatinius II. i. 217.
Veianius, *gladiator emeritus*, IV. i. 4.
Veiento, *Fabricius*, I. ii. 76, 86.
Veneris maritus, *Vulcanus*, III. v. 25.
Ventidius, *Bassus*, III. v. 199.
Venus I. ii. 4.
Vergilius, *Maro*, II. ii. 11, III. v. 69.
Vertumnus III. i. 1.
Vespasianus, *princeps*, I. iii. 14, III. vi. 26, vii. 33.
Vesta minor *Albae*, I. ii. 25.
Vesuvius III. viii. 20, 55.
Vettius III. v. 150.
Via Sacra I. iv. 77.
Vica Pota I. iv. 19.
Vinius Titus, *cos. p. C.* 69, I. iii. 1.
Viselli socer IV. ii. 105.
Vitellius, *princeps*, I. iii. 13.
Vulcanalia III. vii. 29.
Vulcanus I. iv. 57, III. ii. 9, IV. iii. 132; *Veneris maritus*, III. v. 25.

Xenophon II. i. 110.

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press

SELECTION FROM THE LATIN LITERATURE OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

EDITED BY

A. C. B. BROWN, M.A.

FEREDAY FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

ASSISTANT MASTER AT MARLBOROUGH COLLEGE

PART B: OUTER LIFE

OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1922

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
London Edinburgh Glasgow Copenhagen
New York Toronto Melbourne Cape Town
Bombay Calcutta Madras Shanghai
HUMPHREY MILFORD
Publisher to the University

Printed in England

PREFACE

THIS Selection has been undertaken at the suggestion and with the help of the Rev. Hereford B. George, M.A., Fellow of New College, and, primarily, to serve as a textbook for the Oxford Local Examinations. The text is that of the Oxford Classical Texts, so far as the authors included in this book have appeared in that series. The following texts have been used, by kind permission, in cases where no Oxford Text exists:—Friedländer's Petronius, Ball's Seneca (Ludus), C. F. W. Mueller's Pliny (Teubner Edition).

The notes do not attempt to deal with questions of textual criticism or of syntax. The critical results arrived at by the editors of the texts employed have been taken for granted. And the best way of dealing with questions of syntax is to refer to one's grammar. The scope of the notes is therefore limited to the explanation of the subject-matter. An attempt has been made to exclude from them such things as may be discovered by any one who is prepared to use both his dictionary and his wits. The small Latin-English Dictionary of Gepp and Haigh has been used as a rough standard in measuring the amount of help that is forthcoming in a dictionary, but a few of the less common words which do occur in that book have been explained in the notes, in case they should be absent from other dictionaries. Analyses or paraphrases of whole passages have been avoided, except in one case (Juv. vii), on the view that the puzzling-out of the sense of whole passages without knowing beforehand exactly what they are about is a valuable element in classical training. A short heading has, however,

been placed before each passage, to show how it illustrates the general idea of the section in which it is placed. It is hoped that this book will not add to the number of 'those editions of authors which are constructed upon the principle of supplying ready-made solutions of all difficulties, and thus reducing the study of Latin to a mere effort of memory exercised upon inferior materials' (Classical Association, Report of Curricula Committee, 1909, p. 14).

I have throughout consulted the standard editions of Juvenal (Mayor, Hardy), Horace (Wickham), Tacitus (Furneaux, Spooner, Peterson), Friedländer's 'Cena Trimalchionis', and Ball's edition of the 'Ludus' of Seneca. More especially is the book indebted in all its parts to the valuable criticisms and suggestions of Mr. George, to whom the whole has been submitted, and of Mr. H. E. Butler, Fellow of New College, who has read the proofs.

CONTENTS

PART B. OUTER LIFE

PAGE

PREFACE 3

LIST OF CHIEF DATES 8

INTRODUCTION 9

TEXT :—

I. SOCIAL TYPES

The Bore.

i. HOR. Sat. i. 9 17

The Greek.

ii. JUV. Sat. iii 21

The Legacy-Hunter.

iii. HOR. Sat. ii. 5 26

iv. PLINY, Ep. ii. 20 31

Patron and Client.

v. JUV. Sat. v 34

vi. PLINY, Ep. ii. 6 44

vii. MART. vi. 88 45

viii. MART. iii. 30 47

The Spendthrift.

ix. JUV. Sat. xi 49

PAGE

The Smart Man.

x. MART. iii. 63 52

The Jack of all Trades.

xi. MART. ii. 7 54

The Persistent Poet.

xii. MART. iii. 44 55

The Learned Woman.

xiii. JUV. Sat. vi 56

II. SOCIAL INCIDENTS

The Roman Day.

i. MART. iv. 8 59

Dinner Parties in Bad Taste.

ii. HOR. Sat. ii. 8 61
iii. PETRONIUS, Cena Trimalchionis 66

Dinner Parties in Good Taste.

iv. HOR. Ep. i. 5 81
v. PLINY, Ep. i. 15 83

Saturnalia.

vi. MART. xi. 6 84

The Circus.

vii. JUV. Sat. xi 86

A Journey.

viii. HOR. Sat. i. 5 88

III. TOWN AND COUNTRY

PAGE

i. HOR. Sat. ii. 6 93
ii. HOR. Ep. i. 10 100
iii. HOR. Ep. i. 14 103
iv. JUV. Sat. iii 105
v. MART. iv. 64 113
vi. MART. xii. 18 116
vii. PLINY, Ep. i. 9 118

INDEX NOMINUM 123

MAPS

CENTRAL AND SOUTHERN ITALY 16
ROME UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE . . . 120–21

LIST OF CHIEF DATES

Literary.

Horace, B.C. 65–8.
Satires, Book i. B.C. 35.
Satires, Book ii. B.C. 30.
Epistles, Book i. B.C. 20.
Ovid, B.C. 43–A.D. 17.
His banishment, A.D. 8.
Tristia, A.D. 9–12.

Seneca, B.C. 4–A.D. 65.
Ludus, A.D. 54 or 55.
Petronius, died A.D. 66.

Martial, about A.D. 40–104.
Book ii. A.D. 86.
Books iii–xi. A.D. 87-96.
Book xii. A.D. 96.

Tacitus, about A.D. 55–120.
Dialogus, about A.D. 81.
Agricola, A.D. 98.
Histories, about A.D. 110.
Juvenal, about A.D. 60–140.
Satires i–v, between A.D. 100 and A.D. 116.
Satires vi, A.D. 116.
vii–ix, about A.D. 120.
x–xii, about A.D. 125.
Pliny the Younger, A.D. 62–about A.D. 113.
Books i–ix. A.D. 97–109.
Book x. A.D. 112 or 113.

Political.

Principate of Augustus
B.C. 27–A.D. 14.
Principate of Tiberius
A.D. 14–37.
Principate of Gaius (Caligula)
A.D. 37–41.
Principate of Claudius
A.D. 41–54.
Principate of Nero
A.D. 54–68.
'Year of Four Emperors'
(Galba—Otho—Vitellius—Vespasian)
A.D. 69.
Principate of Vespasian
A.D. 69–79.
Principate of Titus
A.D. 79–81.
Principate of Domitian
A.D. 81–96.
Principate of Nerva
A.D. 96–98.
Principate of Trajan
A.D. 98–117.
Principate of Hadrian
A.D. 117–138.

INTRODUCTION

I

ANY ONE reading for the first time an account of Domitian's Reign of Terror must wonder how it happened that the citizens of a state that was mistress of the world should have endured such tyranny at home. Why was it that what appears to be the grinding despotism of the imperial government was for a moment tolerated? The answer to this question requires a brief survey of earlier Roman history. The earliest form of Roman government of which a tradition exists is the kingship. Towards the end of the sixth century B. C. the tyrannical conduct of one of these kings led to the abolition of this form of government and the establishment of a republic, the highest powers of which were vested in two yearly magistrates called consuls. The other magistracies, which were established one by one, with less supreme functions, were always in the same fashion given to more than one at a time and for a limited period. It was under this form of government that Rome developed from an obscure city-state into the head of an empire including the whole of the Mediterranean basin. The result of the constitutional device by which the evils of despotism were avoided by having yearly co-ordinate magistrates, each of whom acted as a check on the others, was to bring the real power into the hands of the Senate. The Senate originally was merely an advisory council, but as the one permanent factor in a system of administration where so much was transient, it gradually developed into a powerful oligarchy. Under the senatorial system one man after another had his

turn at the top. It became the practice for men to work up through the lower magistracies, and provinces were committed to ex-magistrates. If a man was rapacious, his province suffered, if he was incompetent, his army was defeated: but, speaking generally, there was a fair amount of good administrative work done. Romans, like Englishmen, seem, on the whole, to have had an instinctive respect for law. But after giving the Senate due credit for the good points in its administration, we must admit that by the first century B.C. it had shown itself unequal to the task. Henceforth men began more clearly to see that efficiency demanded more concentration of power. So throughout the first century B.C. we find experiments, more or less tentative, being made in the direction of monarchy. First Marius, by a series of consulships, aided by his prestige as the deliverer of his country from the Cimbri and Teutones, then Sulla by means of an extended form of the dictatorship, an extraordinary autocratic magistracy which in the earlier republican period had only been employed in case of urgent military necessity, then Pompey by means of special laws giving him power to supersede the ordinary provincial governors in his wars against the pirates in the Mediterranean, and against Mithradates in the East: each pointed out a different path by which despotism could be attained. It was actually attained, though perhaps not from the first intended, by Julius Caesar, who first got a ten years' term of government in his province of Gaul, and then, under provocation from the action of his political enemies in Rome, with the powerful army thus trained stepped at once across the Rubicon, the boundary line of his province, and across that other boundary line which separates a republican subject from the aspirant to a despotic monarchy. Three years of civil war brought Rome and her empire to Caesar's feet, and we then find him trying to disguise an actual kingship by the

unconvincingly euphemistic title of *dictator*. The Ides of March taught his nephew, who after another period of civil war succeeded to Caesar's supremacy in the Roman world, to be more cautious, and to avoid a regal or quasi-regal attitude. So Octavian (Augustus) poses as a private individual with an honorary precedence over every one else, which he denotes by the title *princeps*. His constitutional position ultimately becomes that of the possessor of a number of powers and privileges belonging to various republican magistracies, which are conferred on him for life, and the possession of which gives him the control of the ordinary republican magistrates who are still allowed to exist. The *princeps* takes the Senate into partnership in the government of the world, and so there arises that partition of functions between the two which Mommsen has called the 'Dyarchy'. But the partners were unequally yoked from the first, and however sincere the deference which the best among the *principes* show to the Senate, the *princeps* is led by force of circumstances to become more and more the predominant partner. The transformation of the Roman government from an oligarchy to a despotism was now complete. The change had been chiefly due to personal ambition in the leaders of the opposing parties, which achieved successful results because it accorded with the changed conditions resulting from the development of a City State into a World Empire. Its success was also due in large measure to the sound sense which underlay Caesar's policy, a policy which found expression, to what extent we do not know, but probably to a large extent, in the acts of Augustus, who posed as his uncle's heir in all things. It may perhaps seem strange that the Senate acquiesced as easily as it did in the diminution of its powers. But the power of the *princeps* ultimately rested on the army, and, as Tacitus remarks (Ann. i. 2), every one was so tired of the civil wars which had raged

almost without cessation during the first three quarters of the first century B.C. that they were ready to accept anything for the sake of peace and quiet. Also the wise and prudent government of Augustus did much to consolidate the power of the *princeps*, so that when the senatorial opposition arose, as it did from time to time, the *princeps* had little difficulty in suppressing it. In fact, as time went on, the institution of the principate became so strong that the actual personality of the *princeps* mattered comparatively little. It made little difference to the world at large whether the supreme power was held by wise and competent men like Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan, or by a lunatic like Caligula and a debauchee like Nero. The personality of the *princeps* did matter a great deal to the senatorial aristocracy who dwelt beneath the shadow of the Palatine. But away from Rome the 'pax Romana' and upright provincial administration remain constant, except for one brief interval, in spite of the varying scenes of atrocity in the capital. The literature of the Early Empire, with few exceptions, focuses our attention on the life of the metropolis. But we must not forget, and we have the inscriptions to remind us, that outside the tainted air of Rome there existed a larger and a healthier life: that under the Principate Roman history ceases to be the history of a town and becomes that of an empire, and that even under a Nero and a Domitian Rome remained true to her ideal,

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento,
> Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

II

The difference between the Rome of the middle of the third century B.C. and that of the opening of the Christian era does not consist merely in the change of the form of government. This great political change was involved in

the social and economic transformation of Italy, which begins in the first half of the second century B. C. At the time of the Punic Wars the mainstay of the Roman state was the class of yeoman who cultivated the land in time of peace and formed the backbone of the legions in time of war, the stubborn brood who, a century before, had vanquished the Samnites. As long as Italian agriculture flourished, the mass of Roman citizens remained hardy and ready for war. But the conquest of Italy led to the accumulation of large public domains which fell into the hands of capitalists who either turned them into pasture or cultivated them by means of slaves. The independent class of small farmers was gradually eliminated, and capitalism, working through slave-labour, proved the ruin of Italy ('Latifundia perdidere Italiam'). The result was that the yeoman class of Italy tended to drift into Rome and to swell the ranks of the city rabble. The population of Rome was also increased by the large influx of Greeks and Orientals which first set in when, at the end of the first quarter of the second century B. C., Rome had become the chief power of the Eastern Mediterranean. These immigrants in many cases no doubt found employment in medicine, education, art, the stage, among other things, and went some way also towards monopolizing the shady or vicious professions. But they must too often have added to the number of the unemployed. The political importance of this rabble in an age when political questions so often found their solution in street fights led to the pampering of the city multitude by food supplies and shows provided at the expense of the State or very frequently of individual magistrates. The corn-doles were started by Gaius Gracchus (B. C. 123) and continued off and on till the time of Caesar, who, by limiting them to those who really needed them, transformed a system of political bribery into an institution of poor

relief. Under the Principate such bounties were widely extended, and at the end of the first century A. D. we find Juvenal (A. IV. iii. 80, 81 in this book), in his description of the fall of Seianus in A. D. 31, lamenting that the people which once ruled the world is quite content if it can get two things, bread and circus-games ('panem et circenses').

Such was the state of the lower classes of the free population of the capital, which mingled with and became contaminated by the constantly increasing number of Greek and Oriental slaves and freedmen. But foreign influence was no less strongly exerted upon the wealthier classes. Here the old Roman traditions of discipline and economy were broken down by the luxury which continually increased as new conquests brought in fresh tribute of wealth and slaves. In the best period of the Republic stringent laws had restricted the amount of silver plate and the kinds of food which might be placed on a Roman dinner-table. These laws remained during the period of degeneration, but were ignored, in spite of spasmodic efforts to enforce them. Under the Principate the luxury of the table, and indeed luxury of all kinds, developed to an extent which is almost incredible, and forms a stock subject of contemporary history and satire.

In religion, no less than in manners, we see foreign influences at work. The rustic worship of the Lares and Penates, the deification of abstract qualities, and the assignment of the ordinary acts of daily life each to the patronage of its own special divinity, were despised as a creed outworn by those who had made acquaintance with Hellenic religion and theology. The abstract character of the native Roman religion of itself facilitated the amalgamation of the Roman with the Greek gods and goddesses by means of a series of equations (Jupiter = Zeus, Minerva = Athena, Venus = Aphrodite, &c.). And those who sought a more sensational

worship than the Hellenic Olympus provided found it in the cults of the East and of Egypt, which from the end of the third century B. C. had begun to find a home in Italy. Under the Principate these religions found favour with many, owing to their sacramental mysteries and the hope which they offered of immortality.

Thus all classes at Rome, the highest and lowest alike, had adopted a cosmopolitan character, in which the old-fashioned virtues of the city-state of Italian yeomen no longer appear. But it would be a mistake to suppose that the change was pure loss. The old Roman character, with its narrow prudential virtues and its police restraint of vice, had something to gain from the wider horizons opened to it by Hellenic intellect and culture. How great this gain was may be seen from the characters and writings of the great men of the Augustan age, and from such men as Seneca and Agricola in the following century.

We have no reason to doubt either the reality of the luxury, vice, and extravagance of Rome or the fact, to which we have already referred (p. 12), that provincial life was much purer and simpler. The same thing is plainly visible in the modern world, perhaps more obviously in France than in any other nation possessing a great and wealthy capital. Novels and other literature make familiar the luxury and vice of Paris, but they leave more or less out of sight the decent domestic life which prevails in the provinces and is wide-spread, though not so conspicuous, in Paris. Both aspects of life are true alike of modern France and of imperial Rome.

Volsinii
ETRURIA
Tiberis Fl.
Fidenae
ROMA
Varia
Tibur
Gabii
Praeneste
Tusculum
Aricia
Alba
Ulubrae
MARSI
Setia
Forum Appi
Paludes Pomptinae
Fundi
Anxur
Circei
Venafrum
Teanum Sidicinum
Formiae
Capua
Beneventum
Sinuessa
CAMPANIA
Herculaneum
Cumae
Prochyta
Misenum
Vesuvius
Pompeii
Stabiae
Capreae
SAMNIUM
APULIA
Canusium
Barium
Rubi
Trivicum
Caudium
Venusia
Gnatia
Brundisium
Tarentum
LUCANIA
LIBURNI
Ravenna
Ancona
Roma
Beneventum
Brundisium
Tarentum
Liparaeae Ins.
SICILIA
Tauromenium
Syracusae
CENTRAL & SOUTHERN
ITALY
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910.

B. I. SOCIAL TYPES

i. *The Bore*

IBAM forte via Sacra, sicut meus est mos,
nescio quid meditans nugarum, totus in illis.
accurrit quidam notus mihi nomine tantum,
arreptaque manu 'quid agis, dulcissime rerum?'
'suaviter, ut nunc est,' inquam, 'et cupio omnia quae vis.'
cum adsectaretur, 'num quid vis?' occupo. at ille
'noris nos' inquit; 'docti sumus.' hic ego 'pluris
hoc' inquam 'mihi eris.' misere discedere quaerens,
ire modo ocius, interdum consistere, in aurem
dicere nescio quid puero, cum sudor ad imos
manaret talos. 'o te, Bolane, cerebri
felicem!' aiebam tacitus, cum quidlibet ille
garriret, vicos, urbem laudaret. ut illi
nil respondebam, 'misere cupis' inquit 'abire;
iamdudum video: sed nil agis; usque tenebo;
persequar hinc quo nunc iter est tibi.' 'nil opus est te
circumagi: quendam volo visere non tibi notum:
trans Tiberim longe cubat is, prope Caesaris hortos.'
'nil habeo quod agam et non sum piger: usque sequar te.'
demitto auriculas, ut iniquae mentis asellus,
cum gravius dorso subiit onus. incipit ille:
'si bene me novi non Viscum pluris amicum,
non Varium facies: nam quis me scribere pluris
aut citius possit versus? quis membra movere
mollius? invideat quod et Hermogenes ego canto.'
interpellandi locus hic erat: 'est tibi mater,

cognati, quis te salvo est opus?' 'haud mihi quisquam:
omnis composui.' 'felices! nunc ego resto.
confice; namque instat fatum mihi triste, Sabella
quod puero cecinit divina mota anus urna:
hunc neque dira venena nec hosticus auferet ensis,
nec laterum dolor aut tussis, nec tarda podagra;
garrulus hunc quando consumet cumque: loquaces,
si sapiat, vitet, simul atque adoleverit aetas.'
ventum erat ad Vestae, quarta iam parte diei
praeterita, et casu tunc respondere vadato
debebat; quod ni fecisset, perdere litem.
'si me amas' inquit 'paulum hic ades.' 'interream si
aut valeo stare aut novi civilia iura;
et propero quo scis.' 'dubius sum quid faciam' inquit,
'tene relinquam an rem.' 'me, sodes.' 'non faciam' ille,
et praecedere coepit. ego, ut contendere durum est
cum victore, sequor. 'Maecenas quomodo tecum?'
hinc repetit: 'paucorum hominum et mentis bene sanae;
nemo dexterius fortuna est usus. haberes
magnum adiutorem, posset qui ferre secundas,
hunc hominem velles si tradere: dispeream ni
summosses omnis.' 'non isto vivimus illic
quo tu rere modo; domus hac nec purior ulla est
nec magis his aliena malis; nil mi officit' inquam
ditior hic aut est quia doctior; est locus uni
cuique suus.' 'magnum narras, vix credibile.' 'atqui
sic habet.' 'accendis, quare cupiam magis illi
proximus esse.' 'velis tantummodo, quae tua virtus,
expugnabis; et est qui vinci possit, eoque
difficilis aditus primos habet.' 'haud mihi deero:
muneribus servos corrumpam; non, hodie si
exclusus fuero, desistam; tempora quaeram;
occurram in triviis; deducam. nil sine magno
vita labore dedit mortalibus.' haec dum agit, ecce

Fuscus Aristius occurrit, mihi carus et illum
qui pulchre nosset. consistimus. 'unde venis?' et
'quo tendis?' rogat et respondet. vellere coepi,
et pressare manu lentissima bracchia, nutans,
distorquens oculos, ut me eriperet. male salsus
ridens dissimulare: meum iecur urere bilis.
'certe nescio quid secreto velle loqui te
aiebas mecum.' 'memini bene, sed meliore
tempore dicam: hodie tricesima sabbata.'
'nulla mihi' inquam
'religio est.' 'at mi: sum paulo infirmior, unus
multorum: ignosces: alias loquar.' huncine solem
tam nigrum surrexe mihi! fugit improbus ac me
sub cultro linquit. casu venit obvius illi
adversarius et 'quo tu turpissime?' magna
inclamat voce, et 'licet antestari?' ego vero
oppono auriculam. rapit in ius: clamor utrimque:
undique concursus. sic me servavit Apollo.

HOR. *Sat.* i. 9.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. An account of Horace's adventure with a bore. It is intended also to show the wrong way to become a friend of Maecenas, just as Sat. i. 6. 45 ff. (A. II. ii. 1 ff. in this book) shows the right way.

1. *via Sacra.* Look up this, and the other parts of Rome mentioned in this Satire, in the plan of Rome.

11. *Bolane*: a person otherwise unknown, whose quick temper (*cerebri*, l. 11) would soon have extricated him from such a situation.

18. *Caesaris hortos*: the gardens on the Janiculum, left by Caesar to the Roman people.

22. *Viscum*: probably one of the two of this name for whose opinions on literary subjects Horace expresses regard (Sat. i. 10. 83).

23. *Varium*: see note on B. II. viii. 40.

25. *Hermogenes*: an effeminate musician much disliked by Horace.

26. The point of the question may be that such a paragon will provoke the jealousy of the gods, he is too good to live. So has he any relations who are interested in his welfare?

36. 'The plaintiff in a civil suit when, with the Praetor's leave, he had declared the nature and process of his action, had to give the defendant time to prepare his answer. He called on him therefore "dare vades" and was said "vadari reum", to bind him over to appear. If the defendant failed at the appointed time to come into court ("vadimonium sistere", "respondere" or apparently as here "respondere vadato") he was said "vadimonium deseruisse", and the plaintiff moved for judgement "ut ex edicto bona possidere liceat".' (Wickham.)

44. *paucorum hominum*: a man of few friends, who does not make himself cheap.

47. *hunc hominem*, sc. *me*. It is very hard to get to know Maecenas. If you want some one to help you to do so, some one who would not try to supplant yourself, you might do worse than introduce me to him.

56 ff. Contrast the way in which Horace himself had gained the intimacy of Maecenas, Hor. Sat. i. 6. 54 ff. (A. II. ii. 10 ff. in this book).

69. *tricesima sabbata.* We do not know the meaning of this, or even if it is intended to have any definite meaning. *Sabbata* may be used vaguely for a Jewish sacred day, and *tricesima* (the 30th of the month) may refer to the new moon.

76. *licet antestari?* The opponent asks Horace whether he will bear witness to the fact that he has summoned the bore. Horace, in accordance with the regular form, allows his ear to be touched as a sign that he is willing to act as witness.

ii. *The Greek*

QVAE nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris,
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
nec pudor opstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem (quamvis quota portio faecis Achaei?
iam pridem Syrus in Tiberim defluxit Orontes).
rusticus ille tuus sumit trechedipna, Quirine,
et ceromatico fert niceteria collo.
hic alta Sicyone, ast hic Amydone relicta,
hic Andro, ille amo, hic Trallibus aut Alabandis
Esquilias dictumque petunt a vimine collem,
viscera magnarum domuum dominique futuri.
ingenium velox, audacia perdita, sermo
promptus et Isaeo torrentior. ede quid illum
esse putes. quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos:
grammaticus rhetor geometres pictor aliptes
augur schoenobates medicus magus, omnia novit
Graeculus esuriens; in caelum miseris, ibit.
in summa non Maurus erat neque Sarmata nec Thrax
qui sumpsit pinnas, mediis sed natus Athenis.
horum ego non fugiam conchylia? me prior ille
signabit fultusque toro meliore recumbet,
advectus Romam quo pruna et cottona vento?
usque adeo nihil est quod nostra infantia caelum
hausit Aventini baca nutrita Sabina?
quid quod adulandi gens prudentissima laudat
sermonem indocti, faciem deformis amici,
et longum invalidi collum cervicibus aequat
Herculis Antaeum procul a tellure tenentis,
miratur vocem angustam, qua deterius nec
ille sonat quo mordetur gallina marito?

haec eadem licet et nobis laudare, sed illis
creditur. an melior, cum Thaida sustinet aut cum
uxorem comoedus agit vel Dorida nullo
cultam palliolo? mulier nempe ipsa videtur.
nec tamen Antiochus nec erit mirabilis illic
aut Stratocles aut cum molli Demetrius Haemo:
natio comoeda est. rides, maiore cachinno
concutitur; flet, si lacrimas conspexit amici,
nec dolet; igniculum brumae si tempore poscas,
accipit endromidem; si dixeris 'aestuo,' sudat.
non sumus ergo pares: melior, qui semper et omni
nocte dieque potest aliena sumere vultum
a facie, iactare manus, laudare paratus.

JUV. *Sat.* iii.

NOTES

Lines 3 ff. Cf. Johnson, London, l. 93 ff. :—

> London, the needy villain's gen'ral home,
> The common sewer of Paris and of Rome,
> With eager thirst, by folly or by fate,
> Sucks in the dregs of each corrupted state.
> Forgive my transports on a theme like this,
> I cannot bear a French metropolis.

3, 4. *Non possum ferre, Quirites, Graecam urbem.* Ever since the conquest of Greece by Rome in 146 B.C., there had been a steady influx of Greeks into the city. These were often accomplished men who were employed in literary, artistic, and educational work. Cf. Hor. Ep. ii. 1. 156-7 'Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio'. But the behaviour of these immigrants was always marked by servility. The introduction of Greek culture into Rome had from the first been distasteful to admirers of the old Roman manners, notably to Cato.

5. *Orontes*: the river of Antioch, the capital of Syria. Rome had been in contact with Syria ever since 190 B.C., when she beat the Syrian king Antiochus and reduced Syria to a second-class power. In 163 B. C. Syria received a Roman resident, and a century later (64 B. C.) was made a Roman province by Pompey.

6, 7. The Greek words in these lines are scornfully introduced in mockery of Greek manners.

trechedeipna (τρέχω + δεῖπνον—'run to dinner'): dress clothes, or, possibly, shoes.

ceromatico. ceroma was a mixture of oil, wax, and earth, with which athletes rubbed themselves before wrestling (Mayor).

niceteria (νικάω—'conquer'): prizes of victory.

12 ff. Cf. Johnson, London, l. 107 ff. :—

> All that at home no more can beg or steal,
> Or like a gibbet better than a wheel,
> Hiss'd from the stage, or hooted from the court,
> Their air, their dress, their politics import;
> Obsequious, artful, voluble, and gay,
> On Britain's fond credulity they prey,
> All sciences a fasting Monsieur knows,
> And bid him go to hell, to hell he goes.
>
> . . . . . .

Studious to please and ready to submit,
The supple Gaul was born a parasite:
Still to his int'rest true, where'er he goes,
Wit, brav'ry, worth, his lavish tongue bestows;
In ev'ry face a thousand graces shine,
From ev'ry tongue flows harmony divine.
These arts in vain our rugged natives try,
Strain out with falt'ring diffidence a lie,
And get a kick for awkward flattery.

13. Isaeus is not the Attic orator of the fourth century B.C., but an Assyrian rhetorician who came to Rome over the age of sixty, about A.D. 97. Cp. Plin. Ep. ii. 3 'magna Isaeum fama praecesserat: maior inventus est. Summa est facultas, copia, ubertas: dicit semper ex tempore. . . . statim omnia ac paene pariter ad manum'.

18 f. It is in keeping with the versatility of the Greek character that the first aeronaut, Daedalus, should have been a Greek of Athens, and not a Moor or Thracian.

20 f. The signatures of witnesses to legal documents were written in the order of precedence of the persons signing, so that a foreign upstart of high position would often sign before a native Roman. This witnessing of marriage contracts, wills, and other documents was a social duty, sometimes a burden, at Rome. Cf. Plin. Ep. i. 9 (B. III. vii. 6 f.) 'ille me ad signandum testamentum . . . rogavit'.

The assigning of places at table in accordance with social position was a Roman no less than a Jewish (St. Luke xiv. 9, 10) custom. See note on B. I. v. 17.

22. *cottona*: small Syrian figs.

28. Antaeus, son of Poseidon and Ge (Earth), was a wrestler in Libya, who obtained more strength each time he touched his mother Earth. Hercules, discovering this, held him away from the earth and strangled him.

30. i.e. a cock. Cf. Quint. xi. 3. 51 'suffocatur saepe vox et maiore nisu minus clara est, et interim elisa in illum sonum erumpit, cui Graeci nomen a gallorum immaturo cantu dederunt', quoted by Mayor.

31 ff. A Roman can flatter no less than a Greek, but then a Roman's flattery is not convincing. A Greek can play the part of flatterer as easily and as naturally as an actor plays the stock parts in a comedy.

37 ff. Cf. Johnson, London, l. 130 ff.:—

Besides, with justice this discerning age
Admires their wond'rous talents for the stage:
Well may they venture on the mimic's art,
Who play from morn to night a borrow'd part;

Practis'd their master's notions to embrace
Repeat his maxims, and reflect his face;
With ev'ry wild absurdity comply,
And view each object with another's eye;
To shake with laughter ere the jest they hear,
To pour at will the counterfeited tear,
And as their patron hints the cold or heat,
To shake in dog-days, in December sweat.

The Legacy-Hunter

iii.

Hoc quoque, Tiresia, praeter narrata petenti
responde, quibus amissas reparare queam res
artibus atque modis. quid rides? 'iamne doloso
non satis est Ithacam revehi patriosque penatis
aspicere?' o nulli quicquam mentite, vides ut
nudus inopsque domum redeam te vate, neque illic
aut apotheca procis intacta est aut pecus; atqui
et genus et virtus nisi cum re vilior alga est.
'quando pauperiem missis ambagibus horres,
accipe qua ratione queas ditescere. turdus
sive aliud privum dabitur tibi, devolet illuc
res ubi magna nitet domino sene; dulcia poma
et quoscumque feret cultus tibi fundus honores
ante Larem gustet venerabilior Lare dives;
qui quamvis periurus erit, sine gente, cruentus
sanguine fraterno, fugitivus, ne tamen illi
tu comes exterior si postulet ire recuses.'
utne tegam spurco Damae latus? haud ita Troiae
me gessi certans semper melioribus. 'ergo
pauper eris.' fortem hoc animum tolerare iubebo;
et quondam maiora tuli. tu protinus unde
divitias aerisque ruam dic, augur, acervos.
'dixi equidem et dico: captes astutus ubique
testamenta senum, neu, si vafer unus et alter
insidiatorem praeroso fugerit hamo,
aut spem deponas aut artem illusus omittas.
magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim,
vivet uter locuples sine natis, improbus, ultro

qui meliorem audax vocet in ius, illius esto
defensor; fama civem causaque priorem
sperne, domi si gnatus erit fecundave coniunx.
"Quinte," puta, aut "Publi," (gaudent praenomine molles
auriculae) "tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum;
ius anceps novi, causas defendere possum;
eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi quam te
contemptum cassa nuce pauperet; haec mea cura est,
ne quid tu perdas neu sis iocus." ire domum atque
pelliculam curare iube; fi cognitor ipse,
persta atque obdura, seu rubra Canicula findet
infantis statuas, seu pingui tentus omaso
Furius hibernas cana nive conspuet Alpis.
"nonne vides," aliquis cubito stantem prope tangens
inquiet, "ut patiens, ut amicis aptus, ut acer?"
plures adnabunt thynni et cetaria crescent.
si cui praeterea validus male filius in re
praeclara sublatus aletur, ne manifestum
caelibis obsequium nudet te, leniter in spem
adrepe officiosus, ut et scribare secundus
heres et, si quis casus puerum egerit Orco,
in vacuum venias: perraro haec alea fallit.
qui testamentum tradet tibi cumque legendum,
abnuere et tabulas a te removere memento,
sic tamen ut limis rapias quid prima secundo
cera velit versu; solus multisne coheres,
veloci percurre oculo. plerumque recoctus
scriba ex quinqueviro corvum deludet hiantem,
captatorque dabit risus Nasica Corano.'
num furis? an prudens ludis me obscura canendo?
'o Laertiade, quidquid dicam aut erit aut non:
divinare etenim magnus mihi donat Apollo.'
quid tamen ista velit sibi fabula, si licet, ede.
'tempore quo iuvenis Parthis horrendus, ab alto

demissum genus Aenea, tellure marique
magnus erit, forti nubet procera Corano
filia Nasicae metuentis reddere soldum.
tum gener hoc faciet: tabulas socero dabit atque
ut legat orabit; multum Nasica negatas
accipiet tandem et tacitus leget, invenietque
nil sibi legatum praeter plorare suisque.
illud ad haec iubeo: mulier si forte dolosa
libertusve senem delirum temperet, illis
accedas socius; laudes, lauderis ut absens.
adiuvat hoc quoque; sed vincit longe prius ipsum
expugnare caput. scribet mala carmina vecors:
laudato.
me sene quod dicam factum est: anus improba Thebis
ex testamento sic est elata: cadaver
unctum oleo largo nudis umeris tulit heres,
scilicet elabi si posset mortua; credo,
quod nimium institerat viventi. cautus adito:
neu desis operae neve immoderatus abundes.
difficilem et morosum offendet garrulus; ultra
non etiam sileas. Davus sis comicus atque
stes capite obstipo, multum similis metuenti.
obsequio grassare; mone, si increbruit aura,
cautus uti velet carum caput; extrahe turba
oppositis umeris; aurem substringe loquaci.
importunus amat laudari: donec ohe! iam
ad caelum manibus sublatis dixerit, urge,
crescentem tumidis infla sermonibus utrem.
cum te servitio longo curaque levarit,
et certum vigilans, QVARTAE SIT PARTIS VLIXES,
audieris, HERES: "ergo nunc Dama sodalis
nusquam est? unde mihi tam fortem tamque fidelem?"
sparge subinde et, si paulum potes, illacrimare: est
gaudia prodentem vultum celare. sepulcrum

permissum arbitrio sine sordibus exstrue; funus
egregie factum laudet vicinia. si quis
forte coheredum senior male tussiet, huic tu
dic, ex parte tua seu fundi sive domus sit
emptor, gaudentem nummo te addicere. sed me
imperiosa trahit Proserpina; vive valeque.'

HOR. *Sat.* ii. 5.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. This satire is conceived as a continuation of the dialogue between Ulysses (Odysseus) and Tiresias in the Lower World, related in Homer, Odyssey xi. Ulysses wants to know how to obtain money to repair the ravages which Penelope's suitors have made in his property. Tiresias advises him to turn legacy-hunter.

8. *re*: property. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 1. 52 ff. (A. IV. i. 52 in this book):—

> Vilius argentum est auro, virtutibus aurum.
> 'o cives, cives, quaerenda pecunia primum est;
> virtus post nummos.' . . . .
> isne tibi melius suadet qui, rem facias, rem,
> si possis recte, si non, quocumque modo rem?

and Tennyson, Northern Farmer, New Style, XI:—

> Proputty, proputty's ivrything 'ere.

41. Horace here parodies the line 'Iuppiter hibernas cana nive conspuit Alpes', probably the work of a Furius Alpinus, who is again referred to in Sat. i. 10, 36, and is almost certainly not identical with Furius Bibaculus.

53 f. The second line of the first page of the will would contain the names of the legatees. The first line would contain the name of the testator.

55 f. *recoctus scriba ex quinqueviro*: a commissioner who has gone into the melting-pot and come out as a clerk (Wickham). The sense of the passage has not been satisfactorily explained.

59. A parody of the ambiguities of ancient oracles.

83. *Davus*: the typical slave of the comic stage.

101. *nummo*: a sesterce. If one of your co-legatees wants to buy some property that has fallen to your share, let him have it for a mere nothing, in the hope that he will mention you in his will.

iv

C. PLINIVS CALVISIO SVO S.

ASSEM para et accipe auream fabulam, fabulas immo; nam me priorum nova admonuit, nec refert, a qua potissimum incipiam. Verania Pisonis graviter iacebat, huius dico Pisonis, quem Galba adoptavit. Ad hanc Regulus venit. Primum inpudentiam hominis, qui venerit ad aegram, cuius marito inimicissimus, ipsi invisissimus fuerat! Esto, si venit tantum; at ille etiam proximus toro sedit, quo die, qua hora nata esset, interrogavit. Vbi audiit, componit vultum, intendit oculos, movet labra, agitat digitos, computat; nihil. Vt diu miseram expectatione suspendit, 'Habes' inquit 'climactericum tempus, sed evades. Quod ut tibi magis liqueat, haruspicem consulam, quem sum frequenter expertus.' Nec mora, sacrificium facit, adfirmat exta cum siderum significatione congruere. Illa ut in periculo credula poscit codicillos, legatum Regulo scribit. Mox ingravescit; clamat moriens hominem nequam, perfidum ac plus etiam quam periurum, qui sibi per salutem filii perierasset. Facit hoc Regulus non minus scelerate quam frequenter, quod iram deorum, quos ipse cotidie fallit, in caput infelicis pueri detestatur.

Velleius Blaesus, ille locuples consularis, novissima valetudine conflictabatur. Cupiebat mutare testamentum. Regulus, qui speraret aliquid ex novis tabulis, quia nuper captare eum coeperat, medicos hortari, rogare, quoquo modo spiritum homini prorogarent. Postquam signatum est testamentum, mutat personam, vertit adlocutionem isdemque medicis: 'Quousque miserum cruciatis? quid invidetis bona morte, cui dare vitam non potestis?' Moritur Blaesus et, tamquam omnia audisset, Regulo ne tantu-

lum quidem. Sufficiunt duae fabulae, an scholastica lege tertiam poscis? est, unde fiat.

Aurelia, ornata femina, signatura testamentum sumpserat pulcherrimas tunicas. Regulus cum venisset ad signandum, 'Rogo' inquit, 'has mihi leges.' Aurelia ludere hominem putabat, ille serio instabat; ne multa, coegit mulierem aperire tabulas ac sibi tunicas, quas erat induta, legare; observavit scribentem, inspexit, an scripsisset. Et Aurelia quidem vivit, ille tamen istud tamquam morituram coegit. Et hic hereditates, hic legata, quasi mereatur, accipit.

Ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι in ea civitate, in qua iam pridem non minora praemia, immo maiora nequitia et improbitas quam pudor et virtus habent? Aspice Regulum, qui ex paupere et tenui ad tantas opes per flagitia processit, ut ipse mihi dixerit, cum consuleret, quam cito sestertium sescenties inpleturus esset, invenisse se exta duplicia, quibus portendi milies et ducenties habiturum. Et habebit, si modo, ut coepit, aliena testamenta, quod est inprobissimum genus falsi, ipsis, quorum sunt illa, dictaverit. Vale.

PLIN. *Ep.* ii. 20.

NOTES

Line 4. *Verania Pisonis*, sc. *uxor.*

5. *Regulus*: one of the most infamous *delatores* under Domitian.

12. *climactericum tempus*: a crisis of the disease.

41. ἀλλὰ τί διατείνομαι, 'But why do I exert myself?' in exposing such abuses. 'What is the use of this tirade?'

Patron and Client

V.

Si te propositi nondum pudet atque eadem est mens,
ut bona summa putes aliena vivere quadra,
si potes illa pati quae nec Sarmentus iniquas
Caesaris ad mensas nec vilis Gabba tulisset,
quamvis iurato metuam tibi credere testi.
ventre nihil novi frugalius. hoc tamen ipsum
defecisse puta, quod inani sufficit alvo:
nulla crepido vacat? nusquam pons et tegetis pars
dimidia brevior? tantine iniuria cenae,
tam ieiuna fames, cum possit honestius illic
et tremere et sordes farris mordere canini?
primo fige loco quod tu discumbere iussus
mercedem solidam veterum capis officiorum.
fructus amicitiae magnae cibus, inputat hunc rex,
et quamvis rarum tamen inputat. ergo duos post
si libuit menses neglectum adhibere clientem,
tertia ne vacuo cessaret culcita lecto,
'una simus' ait. votorum summa. quid ultra
quaeris? habet Trebius propter quod rumpere somnum
debeat et ligulas dimittere, sollicitus ne
tota salutatrix iam turba peregerit orbem
sideribus dubiis aut illo tempore, quo se
frigida circumagunt pigri serraca Bootae.
qualis cena tamen. vinum quod sucida nolit
lana pati: de conviva Corybanta videbis.
iurgia proludunt, sed mox et pocula torques
saucius et rubra deterges vulnera mappa,
inter vos quotiens libertorumque cohortem
pugna Saguntina fervet commissa lagona.
ipse capillato diffusum consule potat
calcatamque tenet bellis socialibus uvam

cardiaco numquam cyathum missurus amico;
cras bibet Albanis aliquid de montibus aut de
Setinis, cuius patriam titulumque senectus
delevit multa veteris fuligine testae,
quale coronati Thrasea Helvidiusque bibebant
Brutorum et Cassi natalibus. ipse capaces
Heliadum crustas et inaequales berullo
Virro tenet phialas: tibi non committitur aurum,
vel si quando datur, custos adfixus ibidem,
qui numeret gemmas, ungues observet acutos.
da veniam, praeclara illi laudatur iaspis;
nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert
a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat
ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae.
tu Beneventani sutoris nomen habentem
siccabis calicem nasorum quattuor ac iam
quassatum et rupto poscentem sulpura vitro.
si stomachus domini fervet vinoque ciboque,
frigidior Geticis petitur decocta pruinis.
non eadem vobis poni modo vina querebar:
vos aliam potatis aquam. tibi pocula cursor
Gaetulus dabit aut nigri manus ossea Mauri
et cui per mediam nolis occurrere noctem,
clivosae veheris dum per monumenta Latinae:
flos Asiae ante ipsum, pretio maiore paratus
quam fuit et Tulli census pugnacis et Anci
et, ne te teneam, Romanorum omnia regum
frivola. quod cum ita sit, tu Gaetulum Ganymedem
respice, cum sities. nescit tot milibus emptus
pauperibus miscere puer; sed forma, sed aetas
digna supercilio. quando ad te pervenit ille?
quando rogatus adest calidae gelidaeque minister?
quippe indignatur veteri parere clienti
quodque aliquid poscas et quod se stante recumbas.

maxima quaeque domus servis est plena superbis.
ecce alius quanto porrexit murmure panem
vix fractum, solidae iam mucida frusta farinae,
quae genuinum agitent, non admittentia morsum.
sed tener et niveus mollique siligine fictus
servatur domino. dextram cohibere memento,
salva sit artoptae reverentia. finge tamen te
inprobulum, superest illic qui ponere cogat:
'vis tu consuetis, audax conviva, canistris
impleri panisque tui novisse colorem?'
'scilicet hoc fuerat, propter quod saepe relicta
coniuge per montem adversum gelidasque cucurri
Esquilias, fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus
Iuppiter et multo stillaret paenula nimbo.'
aspice quam longo distinguat pectore lancem
quae fertur domino squilla, et quibus undique saepta
asparagis qua despiciat convivia cauda,
dum venit excelsi manibus sublata ministri.
sed tibi dimidio constrictus cammarus ovo
ponitur exigua feralis cena patella.
ipse Venafrano piscem perfundit: at hic qui
pallidus adfertur misero tibi caulis olebit
lanternam; illud enim vestris datur alveolis quod
canna Micipsarum prora subvexit acuta,
propter quod Romae cum Boccare nemo lavatur,
quod tutos etiam facit a serpentibus atris.
mullus erit domini, quem misit Corsica vel quem
Tauromenitanae rupes, quando omne peractum est
et iam defecit nostrum mare, dum gula saevit,
retibus adsiduis penitus scrutante macello
proxima, nec patimur Tyrrhenum crescere piscem.
instruit ergo focum provincia, sumitur illinc
quod captator emat Laenas, Aurelia vendat.
Virroni muraena datur, quae maxima venit

gurgite de Siculo ; nam dum se continet auster,
dum sedet et siccat madidas in carcere pinnas,
contemnunt mediam temeraria lina Charybdim :
vos anguilla manet longae cognata colubrae,
aut glacie aspersus maculis Tiberinus, et ipse
vernula riparum, pinguis torrente cloaca
et solitus mediae cryptam penetrare Suburae.
ipsi pauca velim, facilem si praebeat aurem.
'nemo petit, modicis quae mittebantur amicis
a Seneca, quae Piso bonus, quae Cotta solebat
largiri ; namque et titulis et fascibus olim
maior habebatur donandi gloria. solum
poscimus ut cenes civiliter. hoc face et esto,
esto, ut nunc multi, dives tibi, pauper amicis.'
anseris ante ipsum magni iecur, anseribus par
altilis, et flavi dignus ferro Meleagri
spumat aper. post hunc tradentur tubera, si ver
tunc erit et facient optata tonitrua cenas
maiores. 'tibi habe frumentum' Alledius inquit
'o Libye, disiunge boves, dum tubera mittas.'
structorem interea, nequa indignatio desit,
saltantem spectes et chironomunta volanti
cultello, donec peragat dictata magistri
omnia ; nec minimo sane discrimine refert,
quo gestu lepores et quo gallina secetur.
duceris planta velut ictus ab Hercule Cacus
et ponere foris, si quid temptaveris umquam
hiscere, tamquam habeas tria nomina. quando propinat
Virro tibi sumitve tuis contacta labellis
pocula ? quis vestrum temerarius usque adeo, quis
perditus, ut dicat regi 'bibe'? plurima sunt quae
non audent homines pertusa dicere laena.
quadringenta tibi si quis deus aut similis dis
et melior fatis donaret homuncio, quantus,

ex nihilo quantus fieres Virronis amicus.
'da Trebio, pone ad Trebium. vis, frater, ab ipsis
ilibus?' o nummi, vobis hunc praestat honorem,
vos estis fratres. dominus tamen et domini rex
si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvolus aula
luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo;
iucundum et carum sterilis facit uxor amicum.
sed tua nunc Mycale pariat licet et pueros tres
in gremium patris fundat semel, ipse loquaci
gaudebit nido, viridem thoraca iubebit
adferri minimasque nuces assemque rogatum,
ad mensam quotiens parasitus venerit infans.
vilibus ancipites fungi ponentur amicis,
boletus domino, sed quales Claudius edit
ante illum uxoris, post quem nihil amplius edit.
Virro sibi et reliquis Virronibus illa iubebit
poma dari, quorum solo pascaris odore,
qualia perpetuus Phaeacum autumnus habebat,
credere quae possis subrepta sororibus Afris:
tu scabie frueris mali, quod in aggere rodit
qui tegitur parma et galea metuensque flagelli
discit ab hirsuta iaculum torquere capella.
forsitan inpensae Virronem parcere credas.
hoc agit ut doleas; nam quae comoedia, mimus
quis melior plorante gula? ergo omnia fiunt,
si nescis, ut per lacrimas effundere bilem
cogaris pressoque diu stridere molari.
tu tibi liber homo et regis conviva videris:
captum te nidore suae putat ille culinae,
nec male coniectat; quis enim tam nudus, ut illum
bis ferat, Etruscum puero si contigit aurum
vel nodus tantum et signum de paupere loro?
spes bene cenandi vos decipit. 'ecce dabit iam
semesum leporem atque aliquid de clunibus apri,

ad nos iam veniet minor altilis.' inde parato
intactoque omnes et stricto pane iacetis.
ille sapit qui te sic utitur. omnia ferre
si potes, et debes. pulsandum vertice raso
praebebis quandoque caput nec dura timebis
flagra pati, his epulis et tali dignus amico.

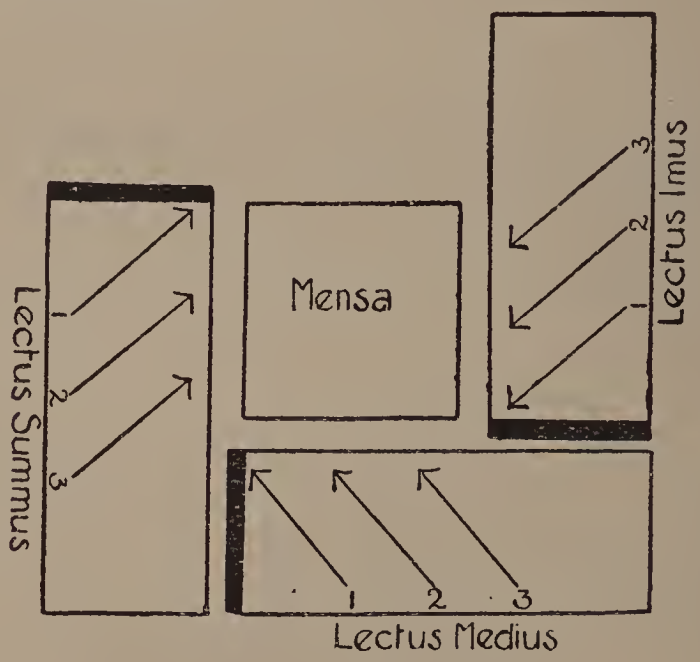
JUV. *Sat.* v.

NOTES

Lines 3 f. Sarmentus and Gabba were obscure and disreputable persons. The former lived under Augustus and assumed equestrian rank under false pretences.

8. Pavements and bridges were and are the haunts of beggars.

17. *lecto.* The three *lecti* of the *triclinium* were called *medius*, *imus*, and *summus*. A person reclining on the *medius* would have the *summus* on his left and the *imus* on his right. The *medius* and *summus lectus* were reserved for guests, the *medius* for the most distinguished ; the *imus* for the host, his wife, and a child or freedman. The place of honour on the *lectus summus* and *imus* was the first, that on the *medius* (the so-called *locus consularis*) the third, which was next to the host, and allowed the occupant to retire or to receive a message without disturbing the rest of the company.



(*Marquardt*)

22 f. *sideribus dubiis* : i. e. early morning.

aut illo tempore : earlier in the night, when Bootes is still high in the sky (Hardy).

24. *sucida lana* is wool shorn in early summer 'cum sudare inceperunt oves' (Varro). It was used with wine or vinegar in fomentations. The wine offered to clients was, according to Juvenal, not good enough even for this.

25. Corybants were priests of Cybele, noted for the violence of their enthusiasm.

29. *Saguntina.* Saguntum, a town in Spain famous for its

earthenware. It is better known to us as the town the capture of which by Hannibal in 218 B. C. led to the Second Punic War.

30. *capillato diffusum consule.* The date at which the wine was made, denoted as usual by the name of the consul, and the vineyard from which it came were written on the label or painted on the amphora. According to Varro barbers came into Italy from Sicily in 300 B. C. The elder Pliny tells us that the younger Scipio Africanus (who destroyed Carthage 146 B. C.) was the first to shave every day. He also speaks of the vintage of 121 B. C. as still drunk in his time (i. e. the middle of the first century A. D.). So the present line is much less of an exaggeration than would seem.

31. *bellis socialibus.* The wars carried on by the Italian allies, headed by the Marsi against Rome between 91 and 88 B. C. Their object was to obtain Roman citizenship, which had been promised them by Livius Drusus. In the end Rome had to give way.

36. For Thrasea and Helvidius see note on A. I. iii. 44. Brutus and Cassius were the two leaders of the champions of Liberty who murdered Julius Caesar (March 15, 44 B. C.), and committed suicide during the Campaign of Philippi two years later.

38. *Heliadum crustas.* Phaethon, son of Helios the God of the Sun, insisted on driving the chariot in which his father crossed the heavens. The horses rushed out of their usual track and nearly burnt up the earth, whereupon Zeus slew Phaethon with a thunderbolt. His sorrowing sisters, the Heliades, were changed into poplars, and their tears into amber.

45. Aeneas was preferred as a suitor by Dido, queen of Carthage, to her Gaetulian neighbour Iarbas. See Verg. Aen. iv. 36 ; Ov. Her. vii. 123 ff.

46. Vatinius was an ugly buffoon with a long nose, the memory of which seems to have been perpetuated in a particular kind of cup with long spouts. He was originally a cobbler of Beneventum. He was introduced into Nero's court as a butt ; afterwards, by means of false accusations, he obtained considerable power (Tac. Ann. xv. 34 ; Mart. xiv. 96).

48. *rupto poscentem sulpura vitro.* Brimstone was often exchanged for broken glass. Or perhaps there is a reference to the use of brimstone as a cement.

52 ff. The client has a black African to wait upon him, the kind of person one would not like to meet in the dark. The patron is attended by an expensive slave from Asia Minor, who cost more than the whole fortune of the early kings of Rome, such as Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Martius.

Ganymedes (l. 59) a Trojan prince, remarkable for his beauty, carried off to be Zeus's cup-bearer. The name is here applied ironically to the ugly negro.

55. *monumenta Latinae.* The chief roads out of Rome, such as the *via Latina*, were bordered for a considerable distance by the tombs of the dead. Interment in the city was only allowed exceptionally.

76 ff. i. e. to attend the early morning *salutatio.*

86 ff. The town of Venafrum, on the borders of Samnium and Campania, was supposed to make the best olive oil in the world. This is served to the patron, while the client has to be content with lamp-oil, or with oil from Numidia, the land of King Micipsa, such oil as, when used at the baths by the Mauretanian Boccar, produces a solitude.

98. For legacy-hunters see Hor. Sat. ii. 5; Plin. Ep. ii. 20 (B. I. iii and B. I. iv in this book). Laenas, in the hope of obtaining a legacy, sends presents of dainties to Aurelia, which she promptly sells.

101. *carcere*: i. e. the prison in which the winds were kept by Aeolus. Cf. Verg. Aen. i. 52–4.

106. The Cloaca Maxima, or main drain of Rome, went under the Subura. For the Subura see note on B. III. iv. 5 and plan of Rome.

109. There had apparently been a great deterioration in the liberality of patrons between the time of Nero (A. D. 54–68) and that of Trajan (A. D. 98–117). Seneca, Nero's tutor, Piso, the head of the disastrous conspiracy of A. D. 65, and Cotta, the poet Ovid's patron, were all famous for their liberality to clients.

115. Meleager, son of Oeneus king of Calydon, slew the boar which ravaged the fields of his country. He gave its hide to Atalanta, but his mother's brothers took it away from her, whereupon he slew them. His mother, enraged at this, threw into the fire the firebrand, on which, by a decree of the fates, Meleager's life depended.

119. A great part of the corn-supply of Rome came from Africa, especially from Egypt.

120 ff. Cf. Petronius, Cena Trimalchionis (B. II. iii. 98 in this book).

125. Cacus, son of Vulcan, was a giant who dwelt on Mount Aventine. He stole some cattle belonging to Hercules and thought he would be able to disguise the theft by dragging them backwards by the tail into his cave. Just as Hercules was going away one of his oxen lowed, and a cow inside the cave replied. Hercules then burst into the cave and slew Cacus. Cf. Verg. Aen. viii. 190–267, esp. 264 'pedibusque informe cadaver protrahitur'.

127. *tamquam habeas tria nomina.* A freeborn Roman had three names: (1) a *praenomen*, e.g. Marcus, denoting the individual, (2) a *nomen*, e.g. Tullius, denoting his *gens*, (3) a *cognomen*, e. g. Cicero, denoting his *familia.* Freedmen also

took the *praenomen* and *nomen* of their patron, as M. Tullius Tiro. The phrase therefore means 'as if you were a free man'. Slaves had only one name, e.g. Davus, Syrus.

130. *regi*, the name by which patrons were addressed by clients. Another common form of address from client to patron was *domine*. It was as much as a client's place was worth to address his patron by name. Cf. Mart. vi. 88 (B. I. vii in this book).

132. *quadringenta* (sc. *milia sestertium*): the amount of money necessary for a man who wished to rank as an *eques* or knight, the second of the great orders in the State.

138–9. A satirical reference to Verg. Aen. iv. 328–9 'si quis mihi parvulus aula luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret'. The meaning is that it is childless persons (*orbi*) who alone give scope to legacy-hunters, and in this way obtain social importance.

143. *thoraca*: a kind of waistcoat.

147–8. Claudius was poisoned by his wife Agrippina on Oct. 13, A.D. 54, by means of a mushroom.

151. Refers to the famous gardens of Alcinous, described by Homer in Odyssey vii. 114 ff.. The Phaeacians, of whom Alcinous was king, are supposed to have lived in Corcyra. Cf. Austin Dobson, In a Garden,

> All the seasons run their race
> In this quiet resting-place;
> Peach and apricot and fig
> Here will ripen and grow big:
> Here is store and overplus,—
> More had not Alcinous.

See also B. III. v. 29.

152. *sororibus Afris*: the Hesperides, guardians of the golden apples which Ge (Earth) gave to Hera when she married Zeus. They were by some supposed to live near Mount Atlas. Hercules had to get these apples as one of his Labours. Cf. B. III. v. 2.

153 ff. Such as the ape gnaws dressed in uniform, and taught by fear of the lash to hurl a javelin from a goat's back. Mart. xiv. 202 speaks of a soldier ape 'callidus emissas eludere simius hastas' (Mayor). The *agger* was that of Servius Tullius: see plan of Rome.

164. *Etruscum puero si contigit aurum*: the *bulla*, a golden ornament, introduced from Etruria, worn by boys of free birth until they assumed the *toga virilis*. Instead of the *bulla* the sons of freedmen wore a badge of leather.

171. *vertice raso*: with shaven head, as a professional jester.

vi

C. PLINIVS AVITO SVO S.

LONGVM est altius repetere, nec refert, quemadmodum acciderit, ut homo minime familiaris cenarem apud quendam, ut sibi videbatur, lautum et diligentem, ut mihi, sordidum simul et sumptuosum. Nam sibi et paucis opima quaedam, ceteris vilia et minuta ponebat. Vinum etiam parvolis lagunculis in tria genera discripserat, non ut potestas eligendi, sed ne ius esset recusandi, aliud sibi et nobis, aliud minoribus amicis (nam gradatim amicos habet), aliud suis nostrisque libertis. Animadvertit, qui mihi proximus recumbebat, et, an probarem, interrogavit. Negavi. 'Tu ergo' inquit 'quam consuetudinem sequeris?' 'Eadem omnibus pono; ad cenam enim, non ad notam invito cunctisque rebus exaequo, quos mensa et toro aequavi.' 'Etiamne libertos?' 'Etiam; convictores enim tunc, non libertos puto.' Et ille: 'Magno tibi constat.' 'Minime.' 'Qui fieri potest?' 'Quia scilicet liberti mei non idem quod ego bibunt, sed idem ego quod liberti.' Et hercule, si gulae temperes, non est onerosum, quo utaris, ipse communicare cum pluribus. Illa ergo reprimenda, illa quasi in ordinem redigenda est, si sumptibus parcas, quibus aliquanto rectius tua continentia quam aliena contumelia consulas.

Quorsus haec? ne tibi, optimae indolis iuveni, quorundam in mensa luxuria specie frugalitatis inponat. Convenit autem amori in te meo, quotiens tale aliquid inciderit, sub exemplo praemonere, quid debeas fugere. Igitur memento nihil magis esse vitandum quam istam luxuriae et sordium novam societatem; quae cum sint turpissima discreta ac separata, turpius iunguntur. Vale.

PLIN. *Ep.* ii. 6.

vii

Mane salutavi vero te nomine casu
nec dixi dominum, Caeciliane, meum.
Quanti libertas constat mihi tanta, requiris?
Centum quadrantes abstulit illa mihi.

Mart. vi. 88.

NOTES

Line 4. *centum quadrantes*: the dole daily received by the client from the patron in consideration of his appearance at the early morning *salutatio*. For a short time in the principate of Domitian we hear of the clients being entertained at a meal (*cena recta*) instead of receiving this payment. But this was more trouble to the patrons and in some cases meant ruin to the clients, so the money payment was restored. See the next epigram in this book (Mart. iii. 30).

viii

SPORTVLA nulla datur; gratis conviva recumbis:
dic mihi, quid Romae, Gargiliane, facis?
unde tibi togula est et fuscae pensio cellae?
unde datur quadrans? unde vir es Chiones?
cum ratione licet dicas te vivere summa,
quod vivis, nulla cum ratione facis.

MART. iii. 30.

NOTES

Line 1. *gratis*: the *cena recta* being regarded as one more service rendered by the client to the patron, and not as pay at all.

5. 'You live most reasonably (cheaply) you say: but under such conditions it isn't reasonable to live to all.'

ix. *The Spendthrift*

ATTICVS eximie si cenat, lautus habetur:
si Rutilus, demens. quid enim maiore cachinno
excipitur vulgi quam pauper Apicius? omnis
convictus thermae stationes, omne theatrum
de Rutilo. nam dum valida ac iuvenalia membra
sufficiunt galeae dumque ardent sanguine, fertur
non cogente quidem, sed nec prohibente tribuno
scripturus leges et regia verba lanistae.
multos porro vides, quos saepe elusus ad ipsum
creditor introitum solet expectare macelli,
et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato est.
egregius cenat meliusque miserrimus horum
et cito casurus iam perlucente ruina.
interea gustus elementa per omnia quaerunt
numquam animo pretiis opstantibus; interius si
adtendas, magis illa iuvant, quae pluris ementur.
ergo haut difficile est perituram arcessere summam
lancibus oppositis vel matris imagine fracta,
et quadringentis nummis condire gulosum
fictile; sic veniunt ad miscillanea ludi.
refert ergo quis haec eadem paret; in Rutilo nam
luxuria est, in Ventidio laudabile nomen
sumit et a censu famam trahit. illum ego iure
despiciam, qui scit quanto sublimior Atlans
omnibus in Libya sit montibus, hic tamen idem
ignoret quantum ferrata distet ab arca
sacculus. e caelo descendit *γνῶθι σεαυτόν*,
figendum et memori tractandum pectore, sive
coniugium quaeras vel sacri in parte senatus
esse velis (neque enim loricam poscit Achillis
Thersites, in qua se traducebat Vlixes)

ancipitem seu tu magno discrimine causam
protegere adfectas, te consule, dic tibi qui sis,
orator vehemens an Curtius et Matho buccae.
noscenda est mensura sui spectandaque rebus
in summis minimisque, etiam cum piscis emetur,
ne mullum cupias, cum sit tibi gobio tantum
in loculis. quis enim te deficiente crumina
et crescente gula manet exitus, aere paterno
ac rebus mersis in ventrem faenoris atque
argenti gravis et pecorum agrorumque capacem?
talibus a dominis post cuncta novissimus exit
anulus, et digito mendicat Polio nudo.
non praematuri cineres nec funus acerbum
luxuriae, sed morte magis metuenda senectus.
hi plerumque gradus: conducta pecunia Romae
et coram dominis consumitur; inde ubi paulum
nescio quid superest et pallet faenoris auctor,
qui vertere solum, Baias et ad ostrea currunt.
cedere namque foro iam non est deterius quam
Esquilias a ferventi migrare Subura.
ille dolor solus patriam fugientibus, illa
maestitia est, caruisse anno circensibus uno.
sanguinis in facie non haeret gutta, morantur
pauci ridiculum et fugientem ex urbe pudorem.

JUV. *Sat.* xi.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. Ti. Claudius *Atticus* discovered a large treasure and was allowed by Nerva (emperor from A.D. 96 to 98) to keep the whole of it. *Rutilus* was a poor noble. *Apicius*, who became in literature the type of the glutton, lived in the time of Augustus and Tiberius.

7. The tribune has not indeed assigned over Rutilus's estate to his creditors, and so driven him to engage himself to the *lanista* for his bread; but yet he has not interposed to save him from a degradation worse than slavery. The chief function of the tribunate was jealously to guard the freedom of Roman citizens (Mayor).

8. Freemen who undertook to serve as gladiators were made to take an oath that they would allow themselves 'uri vinciri ferroque necari' and submit to anything else that the *lanista* demanded.

18. *fracta*: so that he may pawn it as old silver.

20. *fictile*: his plate being pawned, he must eat off earthenware.

27. γνῶθι σεαυτόν, 'know thyself,' an inscription at Delphi.

30 f. Achilles, the hero of the *Iliad*, was the greatest Greek warrior of the epic legends. After his death his arms were competed for as the prize of valour and fell to Ulysses. But Ulysses in the rôle of Achilles was inadequate: much more absurd would it have been if Thersites, the ugly, deformed and ridiculous demagogue of the *Iliad*, had entered for the competition. A Thersites who remembers γνῶθι σεαυτόν will stand aside.

34. *Curtius et Matho*: windbags.

43. *anulus*: the sign of equestrian rank. Strictly speaking, a man whose property fell below 400,000 sesterces (about £3,200) was no longer an *eques*, and therefore no longer entitled to wear the ring.

47. *dominis*: the people who lend the money (cf. 'faenoris auctor', l. 48).

51. *Esquilias*: a healthy quarter where the rich lived. Maecenas' house was there. If the Esquiline is the 'West End' of Rome, the Subura is the 'City'.

x. *The Smart Man*

COTILE, bellus homo es: dicunt hoc, Cotile, multi.
audio: sed quid sit, dic mihi, bellus homo?
'Bellus homo est, flexos qui digerit ordine crines,
balsama qui semper, cinnama semper olet;
cantica qui Nili, qui Gaditana susurrat,
qui movet in varios bracchia volsa modos;
inter femineas tota qui luce cathedras
desidet atque aliqua semper in aure sonat,
qui legit hinc illinc missas scribitque tabellas;
pallia vicini qui refugit cubiti;
qui scit quam quis amet, qui per convivia currit,
Hirpini veteres qui bene novit avos.'
Quid narras? hoc est, hoc est homo, Cotile, bellus?
res pertricosa est, Cotile, bellus homo.

MART. iii. 63.

NOTES

Line 12. *Hirpini*: a famous race-horse, which, as an inscription tells us, won 131 first prizes, 56 second, and 36 third. The grandsire Aquilo won the first prize 130 times, the second 88 times, the third 37 times (Mayor on Juv. viii. 63, which passage should be compared).

xi. *The Jack of all Trades*

Declamas belle, causas agis, Attice, belle,
historias bellas, carmina bella facis,
componis belle mimos, epigrammata belle,
bellus grammaticus, bellus es astrologus,
et belle cantas et saltas, Attice, belle,
bellus es arte lyrae, bellus es arte pilae.
Nil bene cum facias, facias tamen omnia belle,
vis dicam quid sis? magnus es ardalio.

Mart. ii. 7.

xii. *The Persistent Poet*

Occvrrit tibi nemo quod libenter,
quod, quacumque venis, fuga est et ingens
circa te, Ligurine, solitudo,
quid sit, scire cupis? Nimis poeta es.
hoc valde vitium periculosum est.
non tigris catulis citata raptis,
non dipsas medio perusta sole,
nec sic scorpios inprobus timetur.
nam tantos, rogo, quis ferat labores?
et stanti legis et legis sedenti.
in thermas fugio: sonas ad aurem.
piscinam peto: non licet natare.
ad cenam propero: tenes euntem.
ad cenam venio: fugas sedentem.
lassus dormio: suscitas iacentem.
Vis, quantum facias mali, videre?
vir iustus, probus, innocens timeris.

Mart. iii. 44.

xiii. *The Learned Woman*

Illa tamen gravior, quae cum discumbere coepit
laudat Vergilium, periturae ignoscit Elissae,
committit vates et comparat, inde Maronem
atque alia parte in trutina suspendit Homerum.
cedunt grammatici, vincuntur rhetores, omnis
turba tacet, nec causidicus nec praeco loquetur,
altera nec mulier. verborum tanta cadit vis,
tot pariter pelves ac tintinnabula dicas
pulsari. iam nemo tubas, nemo aera fatiget;
una laboranti poterit succurrere Lunae.
inponit finem sapiens et rebus honestis;
nam quae docta nimis cupit et facunda videri,
crure tenus medio tunicas succingere debet,
caedere Silvano porcum, quadrante lavari.
non habeat matrona, tibi quae iuncta recumbit,
dicendi genus, aut curvum sermone rotato
torqueat enthymema, nec historias sciat omnes,
sed quaedam ex libris et non intellegat. odi
hanc ego quae repetit volvitque Palaemonis artem
servata semper lege et ratione loquendi
ignotosque mihi tenet antiquaria versus
nec curanda viris opicae castigat amicae
verba: soloecismum liceat fecisse marito.

Juv. *Sat.* vi.

NOTES

Line 1. *gravior.* The 'blue-stocking', according to Juvenal, is worse even than the types of revolting profligacy which he has just described. This shows how, under the influence of rhetoric, he loses all sense of proportion.

2. *Elissae*: Dido. See Vergil, Aeneid iv.

3 f. The comparison between Homer and Vergil was a stock topic of literary conversation. Even before the publication of the Aeneid, we find Propertius saying

> cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
> nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.
>
> ii. 34. 65-6.

10. Cymbals were clashed during an eclipse of the moon, a magic rite which was supposed to drive away evil spirits and help the moon in her 'labours'. The noise made by the learned woman's talk does equally well.

13, 14. To behave in all sorts of ways like men.

19. *Palaemonis artem*: Palaemon's (see note on A. III. v. 215) Treatise on Grammar.

22. *opicae.* See note on B. III. iv. 53.

B. II. SOCIAL INCIDENTS

i. *The Roman Day*

Prima salutantes atque altera conterit hora,
exercet raucos tertia causidicos,
in quintam varios extendit Roma labores,
sexta quies lassis, septima finis erit,
sufficit in nonam nitidis octava palaestris,
imperat extructos frangere nona toros:
hora libellorum decuma est, Eupheme, meorum,
temperat ambrosias cum tua cura dapes
et bonus aetherio laxatur nectare Caesar
ingentique tenet pocula parca manu.
tunc admitte iocos: gressu timet ire licenti
ad matutinum nostra Thalia Iovem.

Mart. iv. 8.

NOTES

Lines 7 ff. The poet asks Euphemus, Domitian's cup-bearer, to present his poems to the emperor at the right time. The following lines are interesting as presenting the literary deification of a living emperor by a court-poet. The official deification, which did not take place till after an emperor's death, is treated very differently in Seneca's Ludus (A. I. iv. in this book).

Dinner Parties in Bad Taste

ii.

Vt Nasidieni iuvit te cena beati?
nam mihi quaerenti convivam dictus here illic
de medio potare die. 'sic ut mihi numquam
in vita fuerit melius.' dic, si grave non est,
quae prima iratum ventrem placaverit esca.
'in primis Lucanus aper; leni fuit Austro
captus, ut aiebat cenae pater; acria circum
rapula, lactucae, radices, qualia lassum
pervellunt stomachum, siser, allec, faecula Coa.
his ubi sublatis puer alte cinctus acernam
gausape purpureo mensam pertersit, et alter
sublegit quodcumque iaceret inutile quodque
posset cenantis offendere; ut Attica virgo
cum sacris Cereris procedit fuscus Hydaspes
Caecuba vina ferens, Alcon Chium maris expers.
hic erus: Albanum, Maecenas, sive Falernum
te magis appositis delectat, habemus utrumque.'
divitias miseras! sed quis cenantibus una,
Fundani, pulchre fuerit tibi, nosse laboro.
'summus ego et prope me Viscus Thurinus et infra,
si memini, Varius; cum Servilio Balatrone
Vibidius, quas Maecenas adduxerat umbras.
Nomentanus erat super ipsum, Porcius infra
ridiculus totas simul absorbere placentas;
Nomentanus ad hoc, qui si quid forte lateret
indice monstraret digito: nam cetera turba,
nos, inquam, cenamus avis, conchylia, piscis,
longe dissimilem noto celantia sucum;
ut vel continuo patuit, cum passeris atque
ingustata mihi porrexerat ilia rhombi.
post hoc me docuit melimela rubere minorem

ad lunam delecta. quid hoc intersit ab ipso
audieris melius. tum Vibidius Balatroni:
"nos nisi damnose bibimus moriemur inulti,'
et calices poscit maiores. vertere pallor
tum parochi faciem nil sic metuentis ut acris
potores, vel quod male dicunt liberius vel
fervida quod subtile exsurdant vina palatum.
invertunt Allifanis vinaria tota
Vibidius Balatroque, secutis omnibus; imi
convivae lecti nihilum nocuere lagoenis.
adfertur squillas inter murena natantis
in patina porrecta. sub hoc erus: "haec gravida" inquit
"capta est, deterior post partum carne futura.
his mixtum ius est: oleo quod prima Venafri
pressit cella; garo de sucis piscis Hiberi;
vino quinquenni, verum citra mare nato,
dum coquitur (cocto Chium sic convenit, ut non
hoc magis ullum aliud); pipere albo, non sine aceto
quod Methymnaeam vitio mutaverit uvam.
erucas viridis, inulas ego primus amaras
monstravi incoquere, illutos Curtillus echinos,
ut melius muria quod testa marina remittat."
interea suspensa gravis aulaea ruinas
in patinam fecere, trahentia pulveris atri
quantum non Aquilo Campanis excitat agris.
nos maius veriti, postquam nihil esse pericli
sensimus, erigimur. Rufus posito capite, ut si
filius immaturus obisset, flere. quis esset
finis ni sapiens sic Nomentanus amicum
tolleret "heu, Fortuna, quis est crudelior in nos
te deus? ut semper gaudes illudere rebus
humanis!" Varius mappa compescere risum
vix poterat. Balatro suspendens omnia naso
"haec est condicio vivendi" aiebat, "eoque

responsura tuo numquam est par fama labori.
tene, ut ego accipiar laute, torquerier omni
sollicitudine districtum, ne panis adustus,
ne male conditum ius apponatur, ut omnes
praecincti recte pueri comptique ministrent!
adde hos praeterea casus, aulaea ruant si,
ut modo; si patinam pede lapsus frangat agaso.
sed convivatoris uti ducis ingenium res
adversae nudare solent, celare secundae."
Nasidienus ad haec "tibi di quaecumque preceris
commoda dent! ita vir bonus es convivaque comis":
et soleas poscit. tum in lecto quoque videres
stridere secreta divisos aure susurros.'
nullos his mallem ludos spectasse; sed illa
redde age quae deinceps risisti. 'Vibidius dum
quaerit de pueris num sit quoque fracta lagoena,
quod sibi poscenti non dantur pocula, dumque
ridetur fictis rerum, Balatrone secundo,
Nasidiene, redis mutatae frontis, ut arte
emendaturus fortunam: deinde secuti
mazonomo pueri magno discerpta ferentes
membra gruis sparsi sale multo, non sine farre,
pinguibus et ficis pastum iecur anseris albae,
et leporum avulsos, ut multo suavius, armos,
quam si cum lumbis quis edit; tum pectore adusto
vidimus et merulas poni et sine clune palumbes,
suavis res, si non causas narraret earum et
naturas dominus; quem nos sic fugimus ulti,
ut nihil omnino gustaremus, velut illis
Canidia adflasset peior serpentibus Afris.'

Hor. *Sat.* ii. 8.

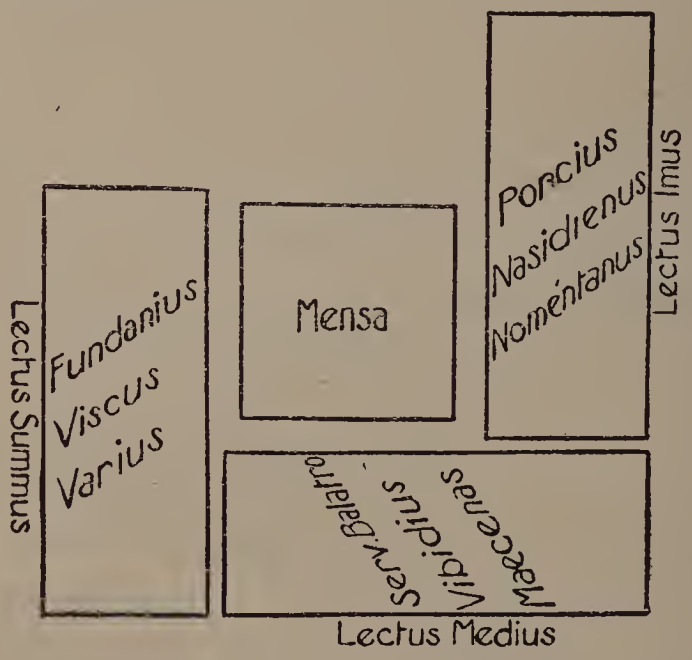
NOTES

A dinner-party given in honour of Maecenas by Nasidienus Rufus (a fictitious name which perhaps disguises Salvidienus Rufus, a parvenu of the time of Augustus) described to Horace by Fundanius, the comic poet. The vulgarity of the host and his tasteless devotion to the art of gastronomy are satirized. Cf. Petronius, Cena Trimalchionis (B. II. iii. in this book).

Line 13. *ut Attica virgo*: the maiden who carried on her head the basket containing the sacrificial implements in the procession at the festivals of Demeter (Ceres), Bacchus, and Athena. The pontifical solemnity of these slaves is contrasted with the briskness of the slave mentioned in l. 10 (*alte cinctus*).

15. *maris expers*. This probably means that, for some reason or other, the usual practice of mixing brine with Greek wines had not in this case been observed. The object of the mixture was partly to improve the flavour, partly to make the wine more wholesome.

20 ff. The places at table were probably arranged as under:—



22. *umbras*: buffoons or humble friends whom a distinguished guest was allowed to bring, and who were included in his invitation. Cf. Hor. Ep. i. 5. 28 (B. II. iv. 28 in this book) 'locus est et pluribus umbris'.

The *parasiti* differ from *umbrae* in being the dependents of the host, not of the guest.

25 f. Maecenas had Nomentanus next to him, in the place usually occupied by the host, to give him the hints necessary for the full appreciation of a banquet, where so much was unexpected. The *cetera turba* (l. 26) was left without gastronomic guidance.

34. The only possible form of revenge was to drink the host 'out of house and home'.

39. Allifae was a town on the borders of Campania and Samnium where large cups were made.

40 f. *imi convivae*: Nomentanus and Porcius, Nasidienus's own parasites, who were naturally anxious not to offend him. Contrast the behaviour of Maecenas' *umbrae*, who take advantage of his protection to poke fun at their host.

92, 93. *causas*, *naturas*: words that suggest a philosophy of the table. 'rerum causas,' Verg. Georg. ii. 490; 'rerum naturam,' Lucretius i. 21 &c. (Wickham).

95. *Canidia*: Gratidia, a perfume-seller of Naples. Horace was attached to her at one time, but, after some quarrel, represented her as a witch (Hor. Sat. i. 8, Epod. v and xvii).

iii

ALLATA est tamen gustatio valde lauta; nam iam omnes discubuerant praeter ipsum Trimalchionem, cui locus novo more primus servabatur. Ceterum in promulsidari asellus erat Corinthius cum bisaccio positus, qui habebat olivas in altera parte albas, in altera nigras. Tegebant asellum duae lances, in quarum marginibus nomen Trimalchionis inscriptum erat et argenti pondus. Ponticuli etiam ferruminati sustinebant glires melle ac papavere sparsos. Fuerunt et tomacula supra craticulam argenteam ferventia posita, et infra craticulam Syriaca pruna cum granis Punici mali.

In his eramus lautitiis, cum ipse Trimalchio ad symphoniam allatus est positusque inter cervicalia minutissima expressit imprudentibus risum. Pallio enim coccineo adrasum excluserat caput circaque oneratas veste cervices laticlaviam immiserat mappam fimbriis hinc atque illinc pendentibus. Habebat etiam in minimo digito sinistrae manus anulum grandem subauratum, extremo vero articulo digiti sequentis minorem, ut mihi videbatur, totum aureum, sed plane ferreis veluti stellis ferruminatum. Et ne has tantum ostenderet divitias, dextrum nudavit lacertum armilla aurea cultum et eboreo circulo lamina splendente conexo. Vt deinde pinna argentea dentes perfodit, 'amici' inquit 'nondum mihi suave erat in triclinium venire, sed ne diutius absentivos morae vobis essem, voluptatem mihi negavi. Permittetis tamen finiri lusum.' Sequebatur puer cum tabula terebinthina et crystallinis tesseris, notavique rem omnium delicatissimam. Pro calculis enim albis ac nigris aureos argenteosque habebat denarios. Interim dum

ille omnium textorum dicta inter lusum consumit, gustantibus adhuc nobis repositorium allatum est cum corbe, in quo gallina erat lignea patentibus in orbem alis, quales esse solent quae incubant ova. Accessere continuo duo servi et symphonia strepente scrutari paleam coeperunt erutaque subinde pavonina ova divisere convivis. Convertit ad hanc scaenam Trimalchio vultum et 'amici' ait 'pavonis ova gallinae iussi supponi. Et mehercules timeo ne iam concepti sint; temptemus tamen, si adhuc sorbilia sunt.' Accipimus nos cochlearia non minus selibras pendentia ovaque ex farina pingui figurata pertundimus. Ego quidem paene proieci partem meam, nam videbatur mihi iam in pullum coisse. Deinde ut audivi veterem convivam: 'hic nescio quid boni debet esse,' persecutus putamen manu pinguissimam ficedulam inveni piperato vitello circumdatam.

Iam Trimalchio eadem omnia lusu intermisso poposcerat feceratque potestatem clara voce, si quis nostrum iterum vellet mulsum sumere, cum subito signum symphonia datur et gustatoria pariter a choro cantante rapiuntur. Ceterum inter tumultum cum forte paropsis excidisset et puer iacentem sustulisset, animadvertit Trimalchio colaphisque obiurgari puerum ac proicere rursus paropsidem iussit. Insecutus est supellecticarius argentumque inter reliqua purgamenta scopis coepit everrere. Subinde intraverunt duo Aethiopes capillati cum pusillis utribus, quales solent esse qui harenam in amphitheatro spargunt, vinumque dedere in manus; aquam enim nemo porrexit.

Laudatus propter elegantias dominus 'aequum' inquit 'Mars amat. Itaque iussi suam cuique mensam assignari. Obiter et putidissimi servi minorem nobis aestum frequentia sua facient.'

Statim allatae sunt amphorae vitreae diligenter gypsatae, quarum in cervicibus pittacia erant affixa cum hoc

titulo: 'Falernum Opimianum annorum centum.' Dum titulos perlegimus, complosit Trimalchio manus et 'eheu' inquit 'ergo diutius vivit vinum quam homuncio. Quare tangomenas faciamus. Vinum vita est. Verum Opimianum praesto. Heri non tam bonum posui, et multo honestiores cenabant.' Potantibus ergo nobis et accuratissime lautitias mirantibus larvam argenteam attulit servus sic aptatam, ut articuli eius vertebraeque luxatae in omnem partem flecterentur. Hanc cum super mensam semel iterumque abiecisset, et catenatio mobilis aliquot figuras exprimeret, Trimalchio adiecit:

> eheu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est.
> sic erimus cuncti, postquam nos auferet Orcus.
> ergo vivamus, dum licet esse bene.

Laudationem ferculum est insecutum plane non pro expectatione magnum; novitas tamen omnium convertit oculos. Rotundum enim repositorium duodecim habebat signa in orbe disposita, super quae proprium convenientemque materiae structor imposuerat cibum: super arietem cicer arietinum, super taurum buoulae frustum, super cancrum coronam, super leonem ficum Africanam. Circumferebat Aegyptius puer clibano argenteo panem . . . atque ipse etiam taeterrima voce de mimo canticum extorsit. Nos ut tristiores ad tam viles accessimus cibos, 'suadeo' inquit Trimalchio 'cenemus.' Haec ut dixit, ad symphoniam quattuor tripudiantes procurrerunt, superioremque partem repositorii abstulerunt. Quo facto videmus infra altilia et sumina leporemque in medio pinnis subornatum, ut Pegasus videretur. Notavimus etiam circa angulos repositorii Marsyas quattuor, e quibus garum piperatum currebat super pisces, qui tanquam in euripo natabant. Damus omnes plausum a familia inceptum et res electissimas ridentes aggredimur. Non minus et Trimalchio eiusmodi methodio

laetus 'Carpe' inquit. Processit statim scissor et ad symphoniam gesticulatus ita laceravit obsonium, ut putares essedarium hydraule cantante pugnare. Ingerebat nihilo minus Trimalchio lentissima voce: 'Carpe, Carpe.' Ego suspicatus ad aliquam urbanitatem totiens iteratam vocem pertinere, non erubui eum qui supra me accumbebat, hoc ipsum interrogare. At ille, qui saepius eiusmodi ludos spectaverat, 'vides illum' inquit 'qui obsonium carpit: Carpus vocatur. Ita quotiescunque dicit "Carpe", eodem verbo et vocat et imperat.'

Non potui amplius quicquam gustare, sed conversus ad eum, ut quam plurima exciperem, longe accersere fabulas coepi sciscitarique, quae esset mulier illa, quae huc atque illuc discurreret. 'Vxor' inquit 'Trimalchionis, Fortunata appellatur, quae nummos modio metitur. Et modo, modo quid fuit? ignoscet mihi genius tuus, noluisses de manu illius panem accipere. Nunc, nec quid nec quare, in caelum abiit et Trimalchionis topanta est. Ad summam, mero meridie si dixerit illi tenebras esse, credet. Ipse nescit quid habeat, adeo saplutus est; sed haec providet omnia et ubi non putes. Est sicca, sobria, bonorum consiliorum, est tamen malae linguae, pica pulvinaris. Quem amat, amat; quem non amat, non amat. Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet, qua milvi volant, nummorum nummos. Argentum in ostiarii illius cella plus iacet, quam quisquam in fortunis habet. Familia vero babae babae, non mehercules puto decumam partem esse quae dominum suum noverit. Ad summam, quemvis ex istis babaecalis in rutae folium coniciet. Nec est quod putes illum quicquam emere. Omnia domi nascuntur: lana, credrae, piper, lacte gallinaceum si quaesieris, invenies. Ad summam, parum illi bona lana nascebatur; arietes a Tarento emit. Mel Atticum ut domi nasceretur, apes ab Athenis iussit afferri; obiter et vernaculae quae sunt, meliusculae a Graeculis fient. Ecce intra hos dies

scripsit, ut illi ex India semen boletorum mitteretur. Nam mulam quidem nullam habet, quae non ex onagro nata sit. Vides tot culcitras: nulla non aut conchyliatum aut coccineum tomentum habet. Tanta est animi beatitudo. Reliquos autem collibertos eius cave contemnas. Valde sucossi sunt. Vides illum qui in imo imus recumbit: hodie sua octingenta possidet. De nihilo crevit. Modo solebat collo suo ligna portare. Sed quomodo dicunt — ego nihil scio, sed audivi — quom Incuboni pilleum rapuisset, thesaurum invenit. Ego nemini invideo, si quid deus dedit. Itaque proxime cenaculum hoc titulo proscripsit: "C. Pompeius Diogenes ex kalendis Iuliis cenaculum locat; ipse enim domum emit." Quid ille qui libertini loco iacet, quam bene se habuit. Non impropero illi. Sestertium suum vidit decies, sed male vacillavit. Non puto illum capillos liberos habere, nec mehercules sua culpa; ipso enim homo melior non est; sed liberti scelerati, qui omnia ad se fecerunt. Scito autem: sociorum olla male fervet, et ubi semel res inclinata est, amici de medio. Et quam honestam negotiationem exercuit, quod illum sic vides. Libitinarius fuit. Solebat sic cenare, quomodo rex: apros gausapatos, opera pistoria, avis, cocos, pistores. Plus vini sub mensa effundebatur, quam aliquis in cella habet. Phantasia, non homo. Inclinatis quoque rebus suis, cum timeret ne creditores illum conturbare existimarent, hoc titulo auctionem proscripsit: "C. Iulius Proculus auctionem faciet rerum supervacuarum."'

Advenerunt ministri ac toralia praeposuerunt toris, in quibus retia erant picta subsessoresque cum venabulis et totus venationis apparatus. Necdum sciebamus, quo mitteremus suspiciones nostras, cum extra triclinium clamor sublatus est ingens, et ecce canes Laconici etiam circa mensam discurrere coeperunt. Secutum est hos repositorium, in quo positus erat primae magnitudinis aper, et

quidem pilleatus, e cuius dentibus sportellae dependebant duae palmulis textae, altera caryotis altera thebaicis repleta. Circa autem minores porcelli ex coptoplacentis facti, quasi uberibus imminerent, scrofam esse positam significabant. Et hi quidem apophoreti fuerunt. Ceterum ad scindendum aprum non ille Carpus accessit, qui altilia laceraverat, sed barbatus ingens, fasciis cruralibus alligatus et alicula subornatus polymita, strictoque venatorio cultro latus apri vehementer percussit, ex cuius plaga turdi evolaverunt. Parati aucupes cum harundinibus fuerunt et eos circa triclinium volitantes momento exceperunt. Inde cum suum cuique iussisset referri Trimalchio, adiecit: 'etiam videte, quam porcus ille silvaticus lotam comederit glandem.' Statim pueri ad sportellas accesserunt, quae pendebant e dentibus, thebaicasque et caryotas ad numerum divisere cenantibus. Interim ego, qui privatum habebam secessum, in multas cogitationes deductus sum, quare aper pilleatus intrasset. Postquam itaque omnis bacalusias consumpsi, duravi interrogare illum interpretem meum, quod me torqueret. At ille: 'plane etiam hoc servus tuus indicare potest; non enim aenigma est, sed res aperta. Hic aper, cum heri summa cena eum vindicasset, a convivis dimissus est; itaque hodie tanquam libertus in convivium revertitur.' Damnavi ego stuporem meum et nihil amplius interrogavi, ne viderer nunquam inter honestos cenasse.

Dum haec loquimur, puer speciosus, vitibus hederisque redimitus, modo Bromium, interdum Lyaeum Euhiumque confessus, calathisco uvas circumtulit et poemata domini sui acutissima voce traduxit. Ad quem sonum conversus Trimalchio 'Dionyse' inquit 'liber esto.' Puer detraxit pilleum apro capitique suo imposuit. Tum Trimalchio rursus adiecit: 'non negabitis me' inquit 'habere Liberum patrem.' Laudavimus dictum Trimalchionis et circumeuntem puerum sane perbasiamus.

Ab hoc ferculo Trimalchio surrexit. Nos libertatem sine tyranno nacti coepimus invitare convivarum sermones. Dama itaque primus cum pataracina poposcisset, 'dies' inquit 'nihil est. Dum versas te, nox fit. Itaque nihil est melius, quam de cubiculo recta in triclinium ire. Et mundum frigus habuimus. Vix me balneus calfecit. Tamen calda potio vestiarius est. Staminatas duxi, et plane matus sum. Vinus mihi in cerebrum abiit.'

Excepit Seleucus fabulae partem et 'ego' inquit 'non cotidie lavor; balniscus enim fullo est, aqua dentes habet, et cor nostrum cotidie liquescit. Sed cum mulsi pultarium obduxi, frigori laecasin dico. Nec sane lavare potui; fui enim hodie in funus. Homo bellus, tam bonus Chrysanthus animam ebulliit. Modo, modo me appellavit. Videor mihi cum illo loqui. Heu, eheu. Vtres inflati ambulamus. Minoris quam muscae sumus, muscae tamen aliquam virtutem habent, nos non pluris sumus quam bullae. Et quid si non abstinax fuisset. Quinque dies aquam in os suum non coniecit, non micam panis. Tamen abiit ad plures. Medici illum perdiderunt, immo magis malus Fatus; medicus enim nihil aliud est quam animi consolatio. Tamen bene elatus est, vitali lecto, stragulis bonis. Planctus est optime — manu misit aliquot — etiam si maligne illum ploravit uxor. Quid si non illam optime accepisset. Sed mulier quae mulier milvinum genus. Neminem nihil boni facere oportet; aeque est enim ac si in puteum conicias. Sed antiquus amor cancer est.'

Molestus fuit, Philerosque proclamavit: 'vivorum meminerimus. Ille habet, quod sibi debebatur: honeste vixit, honeste obiit. Quid habet quod queratur? ab asse crevit et paratus fuit quadrantem de stercore mordicus tollere. Itaque crevit, quicquid crevit, tanquam favus. Puto mehercules illum reliquisse solida centum, et omnia in nummis habuit. De re tamen ego verum dicam, qui linguam cani-

nam comedi: durae buccae fuit, linguosus, discordia, non homo. Frater eius fortis fuit, amicus amico, manu plena, uncta mensa. Et inter initia malam parram pilavit, sed recorrexit costas illius prima vindemia; vendidit enim vinum, quanti ipse voluit. Et quod illius mentum sustulit, hereditatem accepit, ex qua plus involavit, quam illi relictum est. Et ille stips, dum fratri suo irascitur, nescio cui terrae filio patrimonium elegavit. Longe fugit, quisquis suos fugit. Habuit autem oricularios servos, qui illum pessum dederunt. Nunquam autem recte faciet, qui cito credit, utique homo negotians. Plane Fortunae filius, in manu illius plumbum aurum fiebat. Facile est autem, ubi omnia quadrata currunt. Et quot putas illum annos secum tulisse? septuaginta et supra. Sed corneolus fuit, aetatem bene ferebat, niger tanquam corvus. Noveram hominem olim.'

Haec Phileros dixit, illa Ganymedes: 'narratis quod nec ad caelum nec ad terram pertinet, cum interim nemo curat quid annona mordet. Non mehercules hodie buccam panis invenire potui. Et quomodo siccitas perseverat. Iam annum esuritio fuit. Aediles male eveniat, qui cum pistoribus colludunt "serva me, servabo te." Itaque populus minutus laborat; nam isti maiores maxillae semper Saturnalia agunt. O si haberemus illos leones, quos ego hic inveni, cum primum ex Asia veni. Illud erat vivere. Memini Safinium: tunc habitabat ad arcum veterem, me puero, piper, non homo. Is quacunque ibat, terram adurebat. Sed rectus, sed certus, amicus amico, cum quo audacter posses in tenebris micare. Cum ageret porro in foro, sic illius vox crescebat tanquam tuba. Et quam benignus resalutare, nomina omnium reddere, tanquam unus de nobis. Itaque illo tempore annona pro luto erat. Asse panem quem emisses, non potuisses cum altero devorare. Nunc oculum bublum vidi maiorem. Heu heu, quotidie peius. Haec colonia retroversus crescit tanquam coda vituli. Sed quare nos habemus

aedilem trium cauniarum, qui sibi mavult assem quam vitam nostram? itaque domi gaudet, plus in die nummorum accipit, quam alter patrimonium habet. Iam scio, unde acceperit denarios mille aureos. Sed si nos viri essemus, non tantum sibi placeret. Nunc populus est domi leones, foras vulpes. Quod ad me attinet, iam pannos meos comedi, et si perseverat haec annona, casulas meas vendam. Quid enim futurum est, si nec dii nec homines huius coloniae miserentur? ita meos fruniscar, ut ego puto omnia illa a diibus fieri. Nemo enim caelum caelum putat, nemo ieiunium servat, nemo Iovem pili facit, sed omnes opertis oculis bona sua computant. Antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant. Itaque statim urceatim plovebat: aut tunc aut nunquam: et omnes ridebant, udi tanquam mures.

'Oro te' inquit Echion centonarius 'melius loquere. "Modo sic, modo sic" inquit rusticus; varium porcum perdiderat. Quod hodie non est, cras erit: sic vita truditur. Non mehercules patria melior dici potest, si homines saperent. Sed laborat hoc tempore, nec haec sola. Non debemus delicati esse, ubique medius caelus est. Tu si aliubi fueris, dices hic porcos coctos ambulare.'

Eiusmodi fabulae vibrabant, cum Trimalchio intravit et detersa fronte unguento manus lavit spatioque minimo interposito 'vinum' inquit 'si non placet, mutabo; vos illud oportet bonum faciatis. Deorum beneficio non emo, sed nunc quicquid ad salivam facit, in suburbano nascitur eo, quod ego adhuc non novi. Dicitur confine esse Tarraciniensibus et Tarentinis. Nunc coniungere agellis Siciliam volo, ut cum Africam libuerit ire, per meos fines navigem. Sed narra tu mihi, Agamemnon, quam controversiam hodie declamasti? ego etiam si causas non ago, in domusionem tamen literas didici. Et ne me putes studia fastiditum, II bibliothecas habeo, unam Graecam, alteram Latinam. Dic

ergo, si me amas, peristasim declamationis tuae.' Cum dixisset Agamemnon: 'pauper et dives inimici erant,' ait Trimalchio 'quid est pauper?' 'Vrbane' inquit Agamemnon et nescio quam controversiam exposuit. Statim Trimalchio 'hoc' inquit 'si factum est, controversia non est; si factum non est, nihil est.' Haec aliaque cum effusissimis prosequeremur laudationibus, 'rogo' inquit 'Agamemnon mihi carissime, numquid duodecim aerumnas Herculis tenes, aut de Vlixe fabulam? solebam haec ego puer apud Homerum legere.'

PETRONIUS, *Cena Trimalchionis*, 31–8, 40–5, 47–8.

NOTES

An account of a feast given at Cumae by a rich freedman, Trimalchio. Only the first part of the feast is described in this selection. The points to notice are the vulgar ostentation of the host in which he resembles the Nasidienus of Horace, Satires ii. 8 (B. II. ii. above), and the easy chatty conversation of the guests, which is a unique specimen of the ordinary talk of semi-educated people.

Line 2. *locus primus*: i. e. *summus in summo* (*lecto*). Ordinarily the host sat *summus in imo*. See note on B. II. ii. 25 f.

3. *promulsidari*: a dish on which the *promulsis* was served. *bisaccio* (l. 4), a pair of saddle-bags. *ferruminati* (l. 7), glued. *craticulam* (l. 9), gridiron.

12. *ad symphoniam*: to the accompaniment of music. *laticlaviam* (l. 16), with a broad purple stripe.

25. *absentivos*: colloquial for *absens*.

27. *tabula*, the board, and *tesseris*, the dice, used in the 'ludus duodecim scriptorum', a game which closely resembles our backgammon.

30. *textorum*: typical of uncultured artisans.

38. *concepti sint*: sc. *pulli*.

sorbilia: that can be sucked up.

50. *paropsis*: a dish.

53. *supellecticarius*: a slave that looked after the furniture.

57. *in manus*: i. e. to wash the hands with.

63. *pittacia*: labels.

64. *Opimianum*. Opimius was consul in 121 B.C.

67. *tangomenas faciamus* has not been explained. It looks as if it was an invitation to make merry.

83. *cicer arietinum*: a chick-pea like a ram's head in shape.

bubulae of beef.

84. *coronam*: Trimalchio himself was born under the sign of Cancer, so he puts a crown there as a tribute to his own success.

ficum Africanam: because the sun at the time of the greatest heat (August) is in Leo.

96. *methodio*: trick.

98. *ut putares* &c. The carver made gestures to the time of the music. One would have thought that a cabman was fighting to the accompaniment of an organ.

100. '*Carpe, Carpe*,' 'Carve her, Carver.' He orders the carver, whose name is Carpus, to set to work on the joints.

112. *genius tuus*. The *genius* of each individual was the part of the divine nature inherent in him which gave him protection.

This use of *genius tuus* as a polite paraphrase for *tu* seems to have been affected by freedmen.

113. *nec quid nec quare*, 'I don't know why or wherefore' is one of the alliterative expressions common in the speech of the common people.

in caelum abiit, 'reached the seventh heaven of prosperity.' Cf. Cic. Att. ii. 19. 2 'Bibulus in caelo est; nec quare scio; sed ita laudatur' &c.

114. *topanta*, 'all in all,' a vulgar corruption of the Greek τὰ πάντα.

ad summam. See note on A. I. iv. 62.

mero meridie. The adjective seems to have been a favourite in vulgar speech.

116. *saplutus*, 'very rich,' the Greek ζάπλουτος.

117. *sicca, sobria*: another alliteration. Cp. Mart. xii. 30. 1 'siccus, sobrius est Aper'.

118. *pica pulvinaris*, 'a magpie on a cushion,' perhaps refers to Fortunata's loquacity at meals.

119. *qua milvi volant*, 'as far as a kite (the bird) can fly,' a proverbial expression.

124. *babaecalis* seems to be derived from *babae* (122), an interjection expressing astonishment, and to mean 'foolish people'. It is here applied to the local aristocracy. '*in rutae folium coniciet*', a proverbial phrase, means 'pack them into a very small space', 'make them look very small'.

126. *credrae*: citrons.

lacte gallinaceum, 'hen's milk,' cf. the Greek ὀρνίθων γάλα.

135. *sucossi* for *sucosi*, 'sappy', then 'rich'.

139. *quom Incuboni pilleum rapuisset*. The belief was that a goblin who guarded a treasure would be compelled, if you seized his cap, to tell you where the treasure was.

142. *ex kalendis Iuliis cenaculum locat*. He sub-lets the garret he has hitherto occupied. July 1st was the regular date for the beginning of a lease. Cf. Mart. xii. 32.

143. *libertini loco*: ordinarily *imus in imo*, but this has already been mentioned as occupied by another (l. 136 above). So perhaps *medius in imo*.

144. *impropero*, 'taunt.'

145. *decies*: the senatorial *census*.

non puto illum capillos liberos habere. He is so deep in debt that he cannot even call his hair his own. Cf. Terence, Phormio 661 'Quid si animam debet?'

151. *gausapatos*, 'covered over,' perhaps with pastry. A technical term of cookery.

153. *phantasia, non homo*. This turn of phrase is common in Petronius: cf. l. 233 'discordia, non homo', l. 257 'piper, non homo'. *Phantasia* here may mean either (1) 'a dream,'

i. e. not really existing, or (2) 'the type of magnificence', the word *φαντασία* in Greek having occasionally this meaning, (1) seems preferable.

166. *caryotis*, *thebaicis*: kinds of dates.

167. *coptoplacentis*: a kind of cake.

171. *alicula*: a light hunting-dress.

172. *polymita* of damask.

177. *lotam* for *lautum*: cf. *oricularios* for *auricularios*, l. 241 below. This was a characteristic of the emperor Vespasian's pronunciation. Cf. Suet. Vesp. 22 'Mestrium Florum consularem, admonitus ab eo *plaustra* potius quam *plostra* dicenda, postero die Flaurum (=Greek *φλαῦρον*, "worthless") salutavit'.

182. *bacalusias*: perhaps 'follies'.

186. *summa cena*: the chief course.

191. *modo Bromium* &c. The boy probably gave a pantomimic representation of some text describing Bacchus under his various aspects. Cf. Juv. vii. 87, 92 (A. III. v. 87, 92 in this book).

199. From this point there is an excellent translation in Tyrrell's Latin Poetry, pp. 276–9. The same book contains a good account of the work of Petronius as a whole (pp. 272–80).

201. *pataracina*: probably a large kind of drinking-cup. The same liberty is taken in the temporary absence of the host in Nasidienus's banquet, Hor. Sat. ii. 8. 35 ff. (B. II. ii. 35 ff. in this book).

203 ff. *mundum frigus* &c. 'And what a regular freezing we have been having of late! I could scarcely get hot in my bath. However a hot drink is as good as a great-coat. I've had some stiff ones, and I am about full; it has got into my head' (Tyrrell).

207 ff. Tyrrell compares the inconsequence of Seleucus here and of Ganymedes in ll. 248 ff. below with that of Mr. Brooke in 'Middlemarch'.

208. *balniscus enim fullo est.* Friedländer quotes a passage from Clement of Alexandria: 'Frequent bathing impairs men's strength and lowers the tone of the nerves: it often produces faintness and swoons. The ancients called baths "Fullers of Men", for they wear out the body too soon and make it old before its time by softening it. Flesh is softened by heat just as much as iron.' Sen. Ep. 86 tells us on the authority of more ancient writers, that in old times the Romans washed their arms and legs daily, but their whole bodies only once a week ('toti nundinis lavabantur').

209. *pultarium*: derived from *puls*, and originally meaning a vessel for pottage. Here it means something that would hold a warm drink.

210. *frigori laecasin dico*, 'bid the cold go hang.'

laecasin is a Greek Present Infinitive transliterated.

220. *vitali lecto*: euphemism for *mortali*.

221. *aliquot*: sc. *servos*.

223. *milvinum genus*: Mart. ix. 54. 10 '*rapax* milvus'; Jerome, Epistles lxviii. 1 'feritate lupos, *rapacitate* milvos vincere' are quoted by Friedländer.

neminem nihil: notice the doubling of the negative in vulgar speech, 'no one ought to do nothing good to them.'

224. *aeque est enim*. 'You may as well throw your money into a well, as spend it on a woman'.

228. *ab asse crevit*: cf. l. 137 above 'de nihilo crevit'.

232 f. *verum dicam qui linguam caninam comedi*: a popular belief of which we do not hear elsewhere. 'I wear my heart upon my sleeve' is Tyrrell's rendering.

235. *malam parram pilavit*, 'took an unlucky owl's nest,' a proverb for bad luck. 'Everything went wrong with him.'

236. *recorrexit costas*, 'set him on his legs again.'

237. *mentum sustulit*, 'kept his head above water' (Tyrrell).

238. *involavit*, 'took possession of,' lit. 'flew into'.

241. *oricularios=auricularios* (see note on l. 177 above), 'confidential.'

244 f. *ubi omnia quadrata currunt*, 'when everything goes square.' The metaphor is perhaps of square stones which fit well together in building; cf. Cic. Brut. 11 'quoniam tibi ita quadrat' (='since it pleases you so'). *currunt* then refers simply to the *course* of things, and is really a change of metaphor.

246. *corneolus*, 'horny'—'as hard as nails' (Tyrrell).

250. *quid annona mordet*, 'how the shoe pinches in the corn-supply.'

253. '*serva me, servabo te*,' 'one good turn deserves another.'

itaque populus minutus laborat &c. 'So it's the folk in a small way bear the brunt, while the topsawyers have high jinks all the time' (Tyrrell).

259 f. *in tenebris micare*. Like our 'tossing up' this could be used either as a game of chance or as a means of selecting between two alternative courses of action. It consisted in holding up some fingers for a moment, and asking the other person to guess their number. To play this game in the dark, where cheating would be so easy, would be a compliment to the honesty of one's opponent. Cf. Cic. Off. iii. 19. 77 'cum enim fidem alicuius bonitatemque laudant, dignum esse dicunt quicum in tenebris mices'. Still played in Italy, under the name *mora*.

264. *oculum bublum* (for *bubulum*): a bull's eye. This may have been a name for the kind of bun discovered at Pompeii.

265. *haec colonia*: Cumae.

266. *coda* for *cauda* (see note on l. 177 above).

267. *trium cauniarum*, 'worth three figs.'

275. *fruniscar*: a lengthened form of *fruar*, governing, however, an accusative.

276. *diibus* for *deis* : in inscriptions *dibus* is often found.

278. *stolatae*: i.e. the matrons, so called from their garment the *stola*.

280. *urceatim plovebat* (=*pluebat*), 'rained buckets full.'

282. *centonarius* : a dealer in rags.

292. *bonum faciatis*: i.e. by your conversation while drinking it.

295. An estate which touched both Tarracina (Anxur) and Tarentum would stretch from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic. See map.

297. *controversiam* : see note on A. II. i. 232.

298. *in domusionem*, 'for my private amusement.'

301. *peristasim* : the Greek equivalent of the Latin *circumstantiam*, there being a natural tendency to use Greek technical terms in an art so thoroughly Greek as rhetoric. The *circumstantia* consisted in the answers to the following seven questions, 'quis, quid, quando, ubi, cur, quemadmodum, quibus adminiculis (= "instruments").'

305 f. *'hoc' inquit 'si factum est'* &c. A weak pun on the technical and ordinary meanings of *controversia*. 'If it happened, it's a case of certainty : if it didn't, the case doesn't lie.'

309 f. *apud Homerum legere*. Later on (c. 50) Trimalchio makes further excursions into classical history and mythology, which suggest that his study of his 'two libraries, one Greek the other Latin' (l. 300 above), was not very profound. He thinks that Hannibal was present at the Siege of Troy, that Cassandra killed her sons, and that Daedalus shut Niobe into the Trojan Horse.

Dinner Parties in Good Taste

iv.

Si potes Archiacis conviva recumbere lectis
nec modica cenare times holus omne patella,
supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.
vina bibes iterum Tauro diffusa palustris
inter Minturnas Sinuessanumque Petrinum.
si melius quid habes, arcesse vel imperium fer.
iamdudum splendet focus et tibi munda supellex.
mitte levis spes et certamina divitiarum
et Moschi causam: cras nato Caesare festus
dat veniam somnumque dies; impune licebit
aestivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.
quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?
parcus ob heredis curam nimiumque severus
adsidet insano. potare et spargere flores
incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.
quid non ebrietas dissignat? operta recludit,
spes iubet esse ratas, ad proelia trudit inertem;
sollicitis animis onus eximit, addocet artis.
fecundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
haec ego procurare et idoneus imperor et non
invitus, ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
corruget naris, ne non et cantharus et lanx
ostendat tibi te, ne fidos inter amicos
sit qui dicta foras eliminet, ut coeat par
iungaturque pari. Butram tibi Septiciumque,
et nisi cena prior potiorque puella Sabinum
detinet adsumam: locus est et pluribus umbris,
sed nimis arta premunt olidae convivia caprae.
tu quotus esse velis rescribe, et rebus omissis
atria servantem postico falle clientem.

Hor. *Ep.* i. 5.

NOTES

Line 1. *Archiacis.* Archias was a maker of cheap couches.

4 f. *iterum Tauro*: sc. *consule.* Taurus was consul for the second time in 26 B.C. The wine came from the *Mons Petrinus*, somewhere near the *Mons Massicus* in Campania.

6. *imperium fer*: submit to my orders, i.e. drink what I offer you.

9. *Moschi causam*: a lawsuit in which Torquatus was engaged. The Scholiast says that Moschus was a *rhetor* from Pergamum, who was tried for poisoning.

nato Caesare: cf. Suet. Aug. 57 'equites Romani natalem eius sponte atque consensu biduo semper celebraverunt'.

V

C. PLINIVS SEPTICIO CLARO SVO S.

HEVS tu! promittis ad cenam nec venis. Dicitur ius; ad assem inpendium reddes nec id modicum. Paratae erant lactucae singulae, cochleae ternae, ova bina, alica cum mulso et nive (nam hanc quoque computabis, immo hanc in primis, quae periit in ferculo), olivae, betacei, cucurbitae, bulbi, alia mille non minus lauta. Audisses comoedum vel lectorem vel lyristen vel, quae mea liberalitas, omnis. At tu apud nescio quem ostrea, vulvas, echinos, Gaditanas maluisti. Dabis poenas, non dico quas. Dure fecisti; invidisti, nescio an tibi, certe mihi, sed tamen et tibi. Quantum nos lusissemus, risissemus, studuissemus! Potes apparatius cenare apud multos, nusquam hilarius, simplicius, incautius. In summa experire et, nisi postea te aliis potius excusaveris, mihi semper excusa. Vale.

PLIN. *Ep.* i. 15.

vi. *Saturnalia*

VNCTIS falciferi senis diebus,
regnator quibus inperat fritillus,
versu ludere non laborioso
permittis, puto, pilleata Roma.
Risisti; licet ergo, non vetamur.
Pallentes procul hinc abite curae;
quidquid venerit obvium loquamur
morosa sine cogitatione.
Misce dimidios, puer, trientes,
quales Pythagoras dabat Neroni,
misce, Dindyme, sed frequentiores:
possum nil ego sobrius; bibenti
succurrent mihi quindecim poetae.

MART. xi. 6

NOTES

Line 1. *falciferi senis*: Saturn. The Saturnalia, the festival in his honour, began on Dec. 17 and lasted for several days. It was a general holiday, and the playing with dice, illegal at other times, was indulged in then.

9. *trientes*: goblets containing a *triens* or 4 *cyathi* (a *cyathus* is about a wine-glass). *dimidios* mixed with water in the proportion of half and half, which was considered strong.

10. *Pythagoras*: a favourite of Nero.

vii. *The Circus*

Interea Megalesiacae spectacula mappae
Idaeum sollemne colunt, similisque triumpho
praeda caballorum praetor sedet, ac mihi pace
inmensae nimiaeque licet si dicere plebis,
totam hodie Romam circus capit, et fragor aurem
percutit, eventum viridis quo colligo panni.
nam si deficeret, maestam attonitamque videres
hanc urbem, veluti Cannarum in pulvere victis
consulibus. spectent iuvenes, quos clamor et audax
sponsio, quos cultae decet adsedisse puellae:
nostra bibat vernum contracta cuticula solem
effugiatque togam. iam nunc in balnea salva
fronte licet vadas, quamquam solida hora supersit
ad sextam. facere hoc non possis quinque diebus
continuis, quia sunt talis quoque taedia vitae
magna; voluptates commendat rarior usus.

Juv. *Sat.* xi.

NOTES

Line 1. *Megalesiacae.* The Megalesian Games were held in honour of the Phrygian goddess Cybele, the 'Great Mother', whose worship was introduced into Rome in 204 B.C. (cf. 'Idaeum sollemne', line 2 below).

spectacula = spectatores.

mappae. A napkin was dropped by the consul or praetor as the signal for starting.

3. *praeda caballorum.* Magistrates often ruined themselves by giving games.

5 f. Juvenal apologizes to the crowd for calling them 'all Rome', an expression which by its suggestion of a finite whole might be unacceptable to a populace priding itself on being countless.

6. *viridis panni.* The four 'factions' in the Circus were the White, Red, Blue, and Green. Cf. A. III. v. 114.

8. *Cannarum in pulvere*: the great Battle of Cannae in which Hannibal defeated the Romans (see note on A. IV. iii. 147). The Romans, Livy tells us (xxii. 43), were blinded by the dust. The defeat of the favourite chariot at the Circus is taken as seriously as the gravest national disaster.

11. *contracta*, 'shrunk' by old age.

effugiatque togam: see note on B. III. iv. 18.

13. *quamquam solida hora supersit* &c. The usual time for bathing was the eighth hour.

viii. *A Journey*

EGRESSVM magna me accepit Aricia Roma
hospitio modico : rhetor comes Heliodorus,
Graecorum longe doctissimus ; inde Forum Appi,
differtum nautis, cauponibus atque malignis.
hoc iter ignavi divisimus, altius ac nos
praecinctis unum : minus est gravis Appia tardis.
hic ego propter aquam, quod erat deterrima, ventri
indico bellum, cenantis haud animo aequo
exspectans comites. iam nox inducere terris
umbras et caelo diffundere signa parabat.
tum pueri nautis, pueris convicia nautae
ingerere. 'huc appelle!' 'trecentos inseris : ohe
iam satis est!' dum aes exigitur, dum mula ligatur,
tota abit hora. mali culices ranaeque palustres
avertunt somnos, absentem ut cantat amicam
multa prolutus vappa nauta atque viator
certatim : tandem fessus dormire viator
incipit, ac missae pastum retinacula mulae
nauta piger saxo religat stertitque supinus.
iamque dies aderat, nil cum procedere lintrem
sentimus, donec cerebrosus prosilit unus
ac mulae nautaeque caput lumbosque saligno
fuste dolat. quarta vix demum exponimur hora.
ora manusque tua lavimus, Feronia, lympha.
milia tum pransi tria repimus atque subimus
impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur.
huc venturus erat Maecenas optimus atque
Cocceius, missi magnis de rebus uterque
legati, aversos soliti componere amicos.
hic oculis ego nigra meis collyria lippus
illinere. interea Maecenas advenit atque
Cocceius Capitoque simul Fonteius, ad unguem

factus homo, Antoni non ut magis alter amicus.
Fundos Aufidio Lusco praetore libenter
linquimus, insani ridentes praemia scribae,
praetextam et latum clavum prunaeque vatillum.
in Mamurrarum lassi deinde urbe manemus,
Murena praebente domum, Capitone culinam.
postera lux oritur multo gratissima; namque
Plotius et Varius Sinuessae Vergiliusque
occurrunt, animae qualis neque candidiores
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter.
o qui complexus et gaudia quanta fuerunt!
nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico.
proxima Campano ponti quae villula, tectum
praebuit, et parochi quae debent ligna salemque.
hinc muli Capuae clitellas tempore ponunt.
lusum it Maecenas, dormitum ego Vergiliusque;
namque pila lippis inimicum et ludere crudis.
hinc nos Coccei recipit plenissima villa,
quae super est Caudi cauponas. nunc mihi paucis
Sarmenti scurrae pugnam Messique Cicirri,
Musa, velim memores, et quo patre natus uterque
contulerit litis. Messi clarum genus Osci;
Sarmenti domina exstat: ab his maioribus orti
ad pugnam venere. prior Sarmentus: 'equi te
esse feri similem dico.' ridemus, et ipse
Messius 'accipio,' caput et movet. 'o, tua cornu
ni foret exsecto frons' inquit, 'quid faceres, cum
sic mutilus minitaris?' at illi foeda cicatrix
saetosam laevi frontem turpaverat oris.
Campanum in morbum, in faciem permulta iocatus,
pastorem saltaret uti Cyclopa rogabat:
nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis.
multa Cicirrus ad haec: donasset iamne catenam
ex voto Laribus, quaerebat; scriba quod esset,

nihilo deterius dominae ius esse. rogabat
denique cur umquam fugisset, cui satis una
farris libra foret, gracili sic tamque pusillo.
prorsus iucunde cenam producimus illam.
tendimus hinc recta Beneventum ; ubi sedulus hospes
paene macros arsit dum turdos versat in igni :
nam vaga per veterem dilapso flamma culinam
Vulcano summum properabat lambere tectum.
convivas avidos cenam servosque timentis
tum rapere, atque omnis restinguere velle videres.
incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos
ostentare mihi, quos torret Atabulus et quos
numquam erepsemus, nisi nos vicina Trivici
villa recepisset, lacrimoso non sine fumo,
udos cum foliis ramos urente camino.
quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis,
mansuri oppidulo quod versu dicere non est,
signis perfacile est : venit vilissima rerum
hic aqua ; sed panis longe pulcherrimus, ultra
callidus ut soleat umeris portare viator ;
nam Canusi lapidosus, aquae non ditior urna
qui locus a forti Diomede est conditus olim.
flentibus hinc Varius discedit maestus amicis.
inde Rubos fessi pervenimus, utpote longum
carpentes iter et factum corruptius imbri.
postera tempestas melior, via peior adusque
Bari moenia piscosi ; dein Gnatia Lymphis
iratis exstructa dedit risusque iocosque,
dum flamma sine tura liquescere limine sacro
persuadere cupit. credat Iudaeus Apella,
non ego : namque deos didici securum agere aevum,
nec si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
tristis ex alto caeli demittere tecto.
Brundisium longae finis chartaeque viaeque est.

HOR. *Sat.* i. 5.

NOTES

Lines 1 ff. This Satire is an imitation of Lucilius, the first Roman satirist, who largely influenced all subsequent Roman satire (*circ.* 168–102 B.C.). The actual journey described cannot have been the one preceding the Treaty of Brundisium between Octavian and Antony in 40 B.C., as Horace was not admitted to the intimacy of Maecenas till two or three years later. It may, however, be the one made by Maecenas in 38 B.C. on his mission to Antony who was probably at Athens.

6. *Appia*: the *via Appia.*

7 f. *ventri indico bellum*: by going without supper altogether. The custom of mixing wine with water is so fixed that Horace does not get out of the difficulty by drinking his wine neat, but goes without his supper (Wickham).

11. *pueri*: the slaves of travellers; *nautae*: the bargemen.

24. Feronia, an Italian goddess. She had a shrine with a fountain about three miles from Tarracina.

34. *Aufidio Lusco*: the self-important magistrate of a small country town, who claimed for himself the title of *praetor.* He was probably a *praefectus iuri dicundo*, appointed by the Praetor Urbanus. He assumes not only the *toga praetexta*, which belonged to magistrates in Rome and in the *municipia* and *coloniae*, but also the *latus clavus*, the badge of the senatorial order. Why he had a 'shovel of charcoal' we do not know. It may have been a perquisite from the public baths, or used to offer incense for the safe journey of the distinguished visitors.

37. *Mamurrarum urbe*: Formiae. Mamurra was a friend of Julius Caesar.

40. *Varius Vergiliusque*: the poets. Varius (*circ.* 74–14 B.C.), the author of epic poems on Caesar and Octavian (Augustus) and of a tragedy 'Thyestes', and editor of the Aeneid. Vergil (70–19 B.C.), the author of the Bucolics, Georgics, and Aeneid.

51. *quae super est Caudi cauponas*: i.e. they went further than the inns of Caudium, the usual stopping-place.

62. *Campanum in morbum*: perhaps warts, the removal of which would leave a scar.

65. Implements for which their owner had no further use were often dedicated to a god. The *bulla* (see note on B. I. v. 164) was dedicated to the Lares by a youth attaining manhood. So a freedman might dedicate the chains he had worn as a slave.

87 f. The construction is: 'Nam lapidosus (est panis) Canusi, qui locus, aquae non ditior urna (Abl.), a forti Diomede est conditus olim.'

96. *Apella*: probably some Jewish freedman.

97. Cf. Lucretius v. 82, vi. 58 'bene qui didicere deos securum agere aevum', which expresses the Epicurean doctrine of the inactivity of the gods.

B. III. TOWN AND COUNTRY

i

Hoc erat in votis: modus agri non ita magnus,
hortus ubi et tecto vicinus iugis aquae fons
et paulum silvae super his foret. auctius atque
di melius fecere. bene est. nil amplius oro,
Maia nate, nisi ut propria haec mihi munera faxis.
si neque maiorem feci ratione mala rem
nec sum facturus vitio culpave minorem;
si veneror stultus nihil horum, 'o si angulus ille
proximus accedat qui nunc denormat agellum!
o si urnam argenti fors quae mihi monstret, ut illi,
thesauro invento qui mercennarius agrum
illum ipsum mercatus aravit, dives amico
Hercule!' si quod adest gratum iuvat, hac prece te oro:
pingue pecus domino facias et cetera praeter
ingenium, utque soles custos mihi maximus adsis.
ergo ubi me in montis et in arcem ex urbe removi,
quid prius illustrem satiris musaque pedestri?
nec mala me ambitio perdit nec plumbeus Auster
autumnusque gravis, Libitinae quaestus acerbae.
Matutine pater, seu 'Iane' libentius audis,
unde homines operum primos vitaeque labores
instituunt, sic dis placitum, tu carminis esto
principium. Romae sponsorem me rapis: 'eia,
ne prior officio quisquam respondeat, urge.'
sive Aquilo radit terras seu bruma nivalem
interiore diem gyro trahit, ire necesse est.
postmodo quod mi obsit clare certumque locuto

luctandum in turba et facienda iniuria tardis.
'quid vis, insane, et quas res agis?' improbus urget
iratis precibus; 'tu pulses omne quod obstat,
ad Maecenatem memori si mente recurras?'
hoc iuvat et melli est, non mentiar. at simul atras
ventum est Esquilias aliena negotia centum
per caput et circa saliunt latus. 'ante secundam
Roscius orabat sibi adesses ad Puteal cras.'
'de re communi scribae magna atque nova te
orabant hodie meminisses, Quinte, reverti.'
'imprimat his, cura, Maecenas signa tabellis.'
dixeris, 'experiar': 'si vis, potes' addit et instat.
septimus octavo propior iam fugerit annus
ex quo Maecenas me coepit habere suorum
in numero, dumtaxat ad hoc, quem tollere raeda
vellet iter faciens et cui concredere nugas
hoc genus, 'hora quotà est? Thraex est Gallina Syro par?
matutina parum cautos iam frigora mordent':
et quae rimosa bene deponuntur in aure.
per totum hoc tempus subiectior in diem et horam
invidiae noster. ludos spectaverat una,
luserat in campo: 'Fortunae filius!' omnes.
frigidus a Rostris manat per compita rumor:
quicumque obvius est me consulit: 'o bone, nam te
scire, deos quoniam propius contingis, oportet,
numquid de Dacis audisti?' nil equidem. 'ut tu
semper eris derisor!' at omnes di exagitent me
si quicquam. 'quid, militibus promissa Triquetra
praedia Caesar an est Itala tellure daturus?'
iurantem me scire nihil mirantur ut unum
scilicet egregii mortalem altique silenti.
perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:
o rus, quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,

ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?
o quando faba Pythagorae cognata simulque
uncta satis pingui ponentur holuscula lardo?
o noctes cenaeque deum! quibus ipse meique
ante Larem proprium vescor vernasque procaces
pasco libatis dapibus. prout cuique libido est
siccat inaequalis calices conviva, solutus
legibus insanis, seu quis capit acria fortis
pocula seu modicis uvescit laetius. ergo
sermo oritur, non de villis domibusve alienis,
nec male necne Lepos saltet; sed quod magis ad nos
pertinet et nescire malum est agitamus: utrumne
divitiis homines an sint virtute beati;
quidve ad amicitias, usus rectumne, trahat nos;
et quae sit natura boni summumque quid eius.
Cervius haec inter vicinus garrit anilis
ex re fabellas. si quis nam laudat Arelli
sollicitas ignarus opes, sic incipit: 'olim
rusticus urbanum murem mus paupere fertur
accepisse cavo, veterem vetus hospes amicum,
asper et attentus quaesitis, ut tamen artum
solveret hospitiis animum. quid multa? neque ille
sepositi ciceris nec longae invidit avenae,
aridum et ore ferens acinum semesaque lardi
frusta dedit, cupiens varia fastidia cena
vincere tangentis male singula dente superbo;
cum pater ipse domus palea porrectus in horna
esset ador loliumque, dapis meliora relinquens.
tandem urbanus ad hunc "quid te iuvat" inquit, "amice,
praerupti nemoris patientem vivere dorso?
vis tu homines urbemque feris praeponere silvis?
carpe viam, mihi crede, comes; terrestria quando
mortalis animas vivunt sortita, neque ulla est
aut magno aut parvo leti fuga: quo, bone, circa,

dum licet, in rebus iucundis vive beatus;
vive memor, quam sis aevi brevis." haec ubi dicta
agrestem pepulere, domo levis exsilit; inde
ambo propositum peragunt iter, urbis aventes
moenia nocturni subrepere. iamque tenebat
nox medium caeli spatium, cum ponit uterque
in locuplete domo vestigia, rubro ubi cocco
tincta super lectos canderet vestis eburnos,
multaque de magna superessent fercula cena,
quae procul exstructis inerant hesterna canistris.
ergo ubi purpurea porrectum in veste locavit
agrestem, veluti succinctus cursitat hospes
continuatque dapes nec non verniliter ipsis
fungitur officiis, praelambens omne quod adfert.
ille cubans gaudet mutata sorte bonisque
rebus agit laetum convivam, cum subito ingens
valvarum strepitus lectis excussit utrumque.
currere per totum pavidi conclave, magisque
exanimes trepidare, simul domus alta Molossis
personuit canibus. tum rusticus "haud mihi vita
est opus hac" ait et "valeas: me silva cavusque
tutus ab insidiis tenui solabitur ervo."'

HOR. *Sat.* ii. 6.

NOTES

Line 5. *Maia nate*: Mercury, the god of luck.

6 ff. Cf. Swift's imitation:

> If I ne'er got or lost a groat,
> By any trick or any fault;
> And if I pray by reason's rules,
> And not like forty other fools,
> As thus, 'Vouchsafe, oh! gracious Maker
> To grant me this and t'other acre;
> Or, if it be thy will and pleasure,
> Direct my plough to find a treasure;
> But only what my station fits,
> And to be kept in my right wits,
> Preserve, Almighty Providence,
> Just what you give me, competence;
> And let me in these shades compose
> Something in verse as true as prose,
> Removed from all the ambitious scene,
> Nor puffed by pride, nor sunk by spleen.'

14. *pingue*, applied to *ingenium*, means 'stupid'. So there is here a play on words.

19. For the unhealthiness of Rome in autumn, cp. Odes ii. 14. 15–16:

> frustra per autumnos nocentem
> corporibus metuemus Austrum.

Libitina was the goddess who presided over burials.

23. Janus is said to hurry him off to act as surety, because that is the first thing he has to do in the morning, and Janus (*Matutine pater*, l. 20) is god of the morning and of all beginnings.

26. *interiore gyro*. In winter the path in which the sun appears to travel across the sky is shorter than in summer.

32. *atras Esquilias*. The Esquiline had been used as a burial-ground. Maecenas built his palace and laid out his gardens there.

35. *Puteal*. The word literally means a low wall raised round a well (*puteus*) to prevent people from falling in. Places struck by lightning and therefore deemed sacred were railed off in the same way to escape profanation. Among these the *puteal Libonis* or *Scribonianum* in the forum was the chief resort of usurers and the financial centre of Rome.

36. *scribae*: clerks in public offices, the Civil Service of Rome. Horace had been a clerk in the quaestor's office, and is here represented as being consulted by his former colleagues.

40. Cf. Swift's imitation:

'Tis (let me see) three years and more
(October next it will be four)
Since Harley bid me first attend,
And chose me for an humble friend;
Would take me in his coach to chat,
And question me of this and that;
As 'What's o'clock?' and 'How's the wind?'
'Whose chariot's that we left behind?'
Or gravely try to read the lines
Writ underneath the country signs;
Or 'Have you nothing new to-day
From Pope, from Parnell, or from Gay?'
Such tattle often entertains
My lord and me as far as Staines,
As once a week we travel down
To Windsor, and again to town,
Where all that passes *inter nos*,
Might be proclaim'd at Charing-cross.

The date at which Horace was admitted into the circle of Maecenas was probably 38 or 37 B. C.

44. *Thraex*: a kind of gladiator, armed, like the natives of Thrace, with a sharp curved knife and a small shield.

50 ff. Cf. Swift's imitation:

There flies about a strange report
Of some express arrived at court;
I'm stopped by all the fools I meet,
And catechised in every street.
'You, Mr. Dean, frequent the great;
Inform us, will the Emperor treat?
Or do the prints and papers lie?'
'Faith, sir, you know as much as I.'
'Ah! Doctor, how you love to jest;
'Tis now no secret.' 'I protest,
'Tis one to me.'—'Then tell us, pray,
When are the troops to have their pay?'
And though I solemnly declare
I know no more than my lord mayor,
They stand amazed, and think me grown
The closest mortal ever known.

55. *Triquetra* (= 'three-cornered'): Sicily. The line probably refers to the distribution of land among Octavian's soldiers after the battle of Actium (31 B. C.).

63. *faba Pythagorae cognata.* The philosopher Pythagoras (fifth century B. C.) told his followers to abstain from beans. This

prohibition may or may not have been connected with the Pythagorean doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

65 ff. Cf. Swift's imitation:

> Oh charming noons! and nights divine!
> Or when I sup, or when I dine,
> My friends above, my folks below,
> Chatting and laughing all-a-row,
> The beans and bacon set before 'em,
> The grace-cup served with all decorum,
> Each willing to be pleased, and please,
> And e'en the very dogs at ease:
> Here no man prates of idle things,
> How this or that Italian sings,
> A neighbour's madness, or his spouse's,
> Or what's in either of the Houses;
> But something much more our concern,
> And quite a scandal not to learn:
> Which is the happier or the wiser,
> A man of merit or a miser?
> Whether we ought to choose our friends
> For their own worth or our own ends?
> What good, or better, we may call,
> And what the very best of all.

ii

VRBIS amatorem Fuscum salvere iubemus
ruris amatores, hac in re scilicet una
multum dissimiles, at cetera paene gemelli
fraternis animis—quidquid negat alter et alter—
adnuimus pariter vetuli notique columbi.
tu nidum servas; ego laudo ruris amoeni
rivos et musco circumlita saxa nemusque.
quid quaeris? vivo et regno simul ista reliqui
quae vos ad caelum effertis rumore secundo,
utque sacerdotis fugitivus liba recuso,
pane egeo iam mellitis potiore placentis.
vivere naturae si convenienter oportet,
ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum,
novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
cum semel accepit Solem furibundus acutum?
est ubi divellat somnos minus invida cura?
deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,
et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
non qui Sidonio contendere callidus ostro
nescit Aquinatem potantia vellera fucum
certius accipiet damnum propiusque medullis,
quam qui non poterit vero distinguere falsum.
quem res plus nimio delectavere secundae,
mutatae quatient. si quid mirabere, pones

invitus. fuge magna: licet sub paupere tecto
reges et regum vita praecurrere amicos.
cervus equum pugna melior communibus herbis
pellebat, donec minor in certamine longo
imploravit opes hominis frenumque recepit;
sed postquam victor violens discessit ab hoste,
non equitem dorso, non frenum depulit ore.
sic qui pauperiem veritus potiore metallis
libertate caret, dominum vehet improbus atque
serviet aeternum, quia parvo nesciet uti.
cui non conveniet sua res, ut calceus olim,
si pede maior erit, subvertet, si minor, uret.
laetus sorte tua vives sapienter, Aristi,
nec me dimittes incastigatum, ubi plura
cogere quam satis est ac non cessare videbor.
imperat aut servit collecta pecunia cuique,
tortum digna sequi potius quam ducere funem.
haec tibi dictabam post fanum putre Vacunae,
excepto quod non simul esses cetera laetus.

HOR. *Ep.* i. 10.

NOTES

Line 10. A slave in a priest's house, fed on the honey-cakes offered by worshippers, would be glad, if he ran away, to get simpler food.

12 f. The Stoics held that the highest good was 'to live in accordance with nature'. The first instance in which we shall apply this maxim will be the choice of a place to live in. We choose the country. Therefore the country is better than the town.

26 ff. It is more important to be able to distinguish truth from falsehood than real purple from sham.

48. Metaphor perhaps from a windlass. *tortum* then refers to the coiling of the rope, and goes with *sequi* not with *ducere*.

49. *Vacunae*: a Sabine goddess of uncertain identification, perhaps the same as Victoria, but connected by the Romans with *vacare*, *vacuus* ('lazy').

iii

VILICE silvarum et mihi me reddentis agelli,
quem tu fastidis habitatum quinque focis et
quinque bonos solitum Variam dimittere patres,
certemus, spinas animone ego fortius an tu
evellas agro, et melior sit Horatius an res.
me quamvis Lamiae pietas et cura moratur
fratrem maerentis, rapto de fratre dolentis
insolabiliter, tamen istuc mens animusque
fert et amat spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra.
rure ego viventem, tu dicis in urbe beatum.
cui placet alterius, sua nimirum est odio sors.
stultus uterque locum immeritum causatur inique:
in culpa est animus, qui se non effugit umquam.
tu mediastinus tacita prece rura petebas,
nunc urbem et ludos et balnea vilicus optas:
me constare mihi scis et discedere tristem,
quandocumque trahunt invisa negotia Romam.
non eadem miramur; eo disconvenit inter
meque et te: nam quae deserta et inhospita tesqua
credis, amoena vocat mecum qui sentit, et odit
quae tu pulchra putas.

HOR. *Ep.* i. 14.

NOTES

Line 2 f. This probably means that in former times the estate now Horace's had supported five families and sent five members to the municipal council of the local town.

5. *res*: his property. There are to be two comparisons, between the energy of their respective work and its success. *melior*, 'in better condition' (Wickham).

iv

QVAMVIS digressu veteris confusus amici,
laudo tamen vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis
destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae.
ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni
secessus. ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae;
nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non
deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus
tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae
urbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?
haut facile emergunt quorum virtutibus opstat
res angusta domi, sed Romae durior illis
conatus: magno hospitium miserabile, magno
servorum ventres et frugi cenula magno.
fictilibus cenare pudet, quod turpe negabis
translatus subito ad Marsos mensamque Sabellam
contentusque illic Veneto duroque cucullo.
pars magna Italiae est, si verum admittimus, in qua
nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus. ipsa dierum
festorum herboso colitur si quando theatro
maiestas tandemque redit ad pulpita notum
exodium, cum personae pallentis hiatum
in gremio matris formidat rusticus infans,
aequales habitus illic similesque videbis
orchestram et populum, clari velamen honoris
sufficiunt tunicae summis aedilibus albae.
hic ultra vires habitus nitor, hic aliquid plus
quam satis est interdum aliena sumitur arca.
commune id vitium est, hic vivimus ambitiosa
paupertate omnes. quid te moror? omnia Romae
cum pretio. quid das, ut Cossum aliquando salutes?
ut te respiciat clauso Veiento labello?

ille metit barbam, crinem hic deponit amati;
plena domus libis venalibus: accipe et istud
fermentum tibi habe. praestare tributa clientes
cogimur et cultis augere peculia servis.
quis timet aut timuit gelida Praeneste ruinam
aut positis nemorosa inter iuga Volsiniis aut
simplicibus Gabiis aut proni Tiburis arce?
nos urbem colimus tenui tibicine fultam
magna parte sui; nam sic labentibus opstat
vilicus, et veteris rimae cum texit hiatum,
securos pendente iubet dormire ruina.
vivendum est illic ubi nulla incendia, nulli
nocte metus. iam poscit aquam, iam frivola transfert
Vcalegon, tabulata tibi iam tertia fumant:
tu nescis; nam si gradibus trepidatur ab imis,
ultimus ardebit quem tegula sola tuetur
a pluvia, molles ubi reddunt ova columbae.
lectus erat Codro Procula minor, urceoli sex
ornamentum abaci nec non et parvulus infra
cantharus, et recubans sub eodem marmore Chiro
iamque vetus graecos servabat cista libellos,
et divina opici rodebant carmina mures.
nil habuit Codrus, quis enim negat? et tamen illud
perdidit infelix totum nihil. ultimus autem
aerumnae est cumulus, quod nudum et frusta rogantem
nemo cibo, nemo hospitio tectoque iuvabit.
si magna Asturici cecidit domus, horrida mater,
pullati proceres, differt vadimonia praetor.
tum gemimus casus urbis, tunc odimus ignem.
ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui marmora donet,
conferat inpensas; hic nuda et candida signa,
hic allquid praeclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti,
haec Asianorum vetera ornamenta deorum,
hic libros dabit et forulos mediamque Minervam,

hic modium argenti. meliora ac plura reponit
Persicus orborum lautissimus et merito iam
suspectus tamquam ipse suas incenderit aedes.
si potes avelli circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.
hortulus hic puteusque brevis nec reste movendus
in tenuis plantas facili diffunditur haustu.
vive bidentis amans et culti vilicus horti,
unde epulum possis centum dare Pythagoreis.
est aliquid, quocumque loco, quocumque recessu
unius sese dominum fecisse lacertae.
plurimus hic aeger moritur vigilando (sed ipsum
languorem peperit cibus inperfectus et haerens
ardenti stomacho), nam quae meritoria somnum
admittunt? magnis opibus dormitur in urbe.
inde caput morbi. raedarum transitus arto
vicorum inflexu et stantis convicia mandrae
eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis.
si vocat officium, turba cedente vehetur
dives et ingenti curret super ora Liburna
atque obiter leget aut scribet vel dormiet intus;
namque facit somnum clausa lectica fenestra.
ante tamen veniet: nobis properantibus opstat
unda prior, magno populus premit agmine lumbos
qui sequitur; ferit hic cubito, ferit assere duro
alter, at hic tignum capiti incutit, ille metretam.
pinguia crura luto, planta mox undique magna
calcor et in digito clavus mihi militis haeret.
nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.
Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
inpositas capiti, quas recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.

scinduntur tunicae sartae modo, longa coruscat
serraco veniente abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt, nutant alte populoque minantur.
nam si procubuit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest e corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
invenit? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
striglibus et pleno componit lintea guto.
haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.
  respice nunc alia ac diversa pericula noctis:
quod spatium tectis sublimibus unde cerebrum
testa ferit, quotiens rimosa et curta fenestris
vasa cadant, quanto percussum pondere signent
et laedant silicem. possis ignavus haberi
et subiti casus inprovidus, ad cenam si
intestatus eas: adeo tot fata, quot illa
nocte patent vigiles te praetereunte fenestrae.
ergo optes votumque feras miserabile tecum,
ut sint contentae patulas defundere pelves.
ebrius ac petulans qui nullum forte cecidit,
dat poenas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
Pelidae, cubat in faciem, mox deinde supinus;
ergo non aliter poterit dormire; quibusdam
somnum rixa facit. sed quamvis improbus annis
atque mero fervens cavet hunc, quem coccina laena
vitari iubet et comitum longissimus ordo,
multum praeterea flammarum et aenea lampas.
me, quem luna solet deducere vel breve lumen
candelae, cuius dispenso et tempero filum,

contemnit. miserae cognosce prohoemia rixae,
si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.
stat contra starique iubet, parere necesse est;
nam quid agas, cum te furiosus cogat et idem
fortior? 'unde venis?' exclamat 'cuius aceto,
cuius conche tumes? quis tecum sectile porrum
sutor et elixi vervecis labra comedit?
nil mihi respondes? aut dic aut accipe calcem.
ede ubi consistas, in qua te quaero proseucha?'
dicere si temptes aliquid tacitusve recedas,
tantumdem est: feriunt pariter, vadimonia deinde
irati faciunt. libertas pauperis haec est:
pulsatus rogat et pugnis concisus adorat
ut liceat paucis cum dentibus inde reverti.
nec tamen haec tantum metuas. nam qui spoliet te
non derit clausis domibus, postquam omnis ubique
fixa catenatae siluit compago tabernae.
interdum et ferro subitus grassator agit rem;
armato quotiens tutae custode tenentur
et Pomptina palus et Gallinaria pinus,
sic inde huc omnes tamquam ad vivaria currunt.
qua fornace graves, qua non incude catenae?
maximus in vinclis ferri modus, ut timeas ne
vomer deficiat, ne marrae et sarcula desint.
felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
saecula, quae quondam sub regibus atque tribunis
viderunt uno contentam carcere Romam.

NOTES

Line 3. *unum civem donare Sibyllae.* A Sibyl was a virgin prophetess, dwelling in a cave, and inspired by vapour arising from the earth. She was always connected with Apollo. The most famous Sibyl dwelt at Cumae, and wrote her prophecies on leaves. See Verg. Aen. vi beginning.

5. *ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae.* Prochyta (Procida) is a small island off the Campanian coast. In ancient times it seems to have been deserted, though now populous and fertile. Subura, one of the busiest parts of Rome, lay between the Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal (see plan of Rome).

18. *nemo togam sumit nisi mortuus.* At Rome, on the other hand, the toga was worn on all formal occasions, such as the *salutatio* or early morning visit of client to patron. Augustus insisted on the wearing of the toga in the forum and circus (Suet. Aug. 40). One of the chief attractions of country-life to the Romans seems to have been emancipation from the toga (cf. Plin. Ep. v. 6 nulla necessitas togae ; Mart. x. 47. 5 toga rara).

25. The aediles, or chief magistrates of the place, condescend to wear the *tunica*, which was more comfortable and less formal than the toga. Their places were in the *orchestra* (l. 24). In the country there is no *latus clavus*, *angustus clavus*, or *praetexta*, or any other distinction of dress, but all alike wear the white tunic.

31. The prouder sort of patron often declined to take any notice of the clients who presented themselves at the early morning *salutatio.* They opened their mouths only to yawn. For Veiento, who is here mentioned merely as a type, see note on A. I. ii. 76.

32. The first beard of a youth was usually dedicated to some god. This custom seems to have been borrowed from Greece, and is not heard of earlier than the Imperial period.

33. *venalibus*: because, though the cakes were offered to all who came, a present had to be made to the porter. *accipe*: sc. *libam.* The *fermentum* appears to be righteous indignation at the insults offered by slaves to clients.

39. *tibicine* : support, prop.

45. Cf. Verg. Aen. ii. 311 'iam proximus ardet Vcalegon', to which Juvenal here makes a mock-heroic reference. Ucalegon is represented as dwelling in the third storey of an *insula* or lodging-house: the person referred to as *tu* lives in the attic above.

49. *Procula*, probably a dwarf. Dwarfs and misshapen persons were often kept by Roman nobles as pets or curiosities.

51. *recubans sub eodem marmore Chiro.* The *marmor* is the *abacus* (l. 50), a slab which served as a side-board on which to show plate.

recubans Chiro: a statue of the centaur Chiron.

53. *opici*: originally 'Oscan' (the non-Greek element in the population of S. Italy). It was used, first perhaps in the Greek cities of Magna Graecia, as a term of reproach for anything anti-Greek or ignorant of Greek. It is here well applied to Philistine mice who gnaw Greek poetry.

63. Euphranor and Polycleitus were famous Greek sculptors. The former lived in the middle of the fourth century B.C., the latter in the middle of the fifth.

64. The temples of Asia and other provinces were constantly deprived of precious works of art by the Roman governors of the late republican period. The depredations of Verres (propraetor in Sicily 73 B.C.) have been immortalized by Cicero (Verrines ii. 4).

65. A statue of Minerva, the patroness of learning, was usually placed in libraries. *mediam* means 'among the books', or possibly 'a half-length figure'.

75. Vegetarianism was practised by the Pythagoreans.

82. Wheeled traffic was not allowed in Rome till the tenth hour of the day; this led to the streets being crowded with carriages and wagons all night.

84. Tiberius Claudius *Drusus*, *princeps* from A.D. 41 to 54, was a very heavy sleeper. So, apparently, are seals (Plin. N. H. ix. 15 'nullum animal graviore somno premitur').

97. Corbulo conducted campaigns in Germany and Armenia in the reigns of Claudius and Nero, by the latter of whom he was put to death. Tacitus describes him as 'corpore ingens' (Ann. xiii. 8). He appears here merely as a typical instance of the strong man.

107. 'This slender stream of definitely poetic imagination reveals itself suddenly and unexpectedly in strange forms and circumstances. At the close of the passage in the third satire describing the perils of the Roman streets, Juvenal imagines the death of some householder in a street accident. All is bustle and business at home in expectation of his return. Out of the grotesque there gradually looms the horror of death and the friendless ghost sitting lost and homeless by the Stygian waters.' H. E. Butler, Post-Augustan Poets, p. 317.

113. *trientem.* The Greeks put an obol into the mouth of a corpse, as the fare of Charon, the ferryman of the dead. A few instances of coins between the teeth of skeletons have been found in Roman localities, but there seems no reason to believe that the custom was generally adopted by the Romans. It is here a mere literary reminiscence.

115. *spatium.* The height of houses in Rome was limited by Augustus to 70 feet, and by Trajan to 60.

118. *silicem*: the pavement.

Cf. Johnson, London, ll. 220 ff.:

> Prepare for death, if here at night you roam,
> And sign your will before you sup from home.
> Some fiery fop with new commission vain,
> Who sleeps on brambles till he kills his man,
> Some frolic drunkard, reeling from a feast,
> Provokes a broil, and stabs you for a jest.
> Yet ev'n these heroes, mischievously gay,
> Lords of the street, and terrors of the way,
> Flush'd as they are with folly, youth, and wine,
> Their prudent insults to the poor confine;
> Afar they mark the flambeau's bright approach,
> And shun the shining train and golden coach.

124. Besides the nocturnal rioters of the Early Empire, among whom we find the emperors Nero (Tac. Ann. xiii. 25. 47) and Otho (Suet. Oth. 2), the 'hooligans' of fourth-century Athens and of eighteenth-century London have been immortalized in literature, the former by Demosthenes in the 'Conon', the latter by Addison in the 'Spectator'.

125. Achilles lamenting the death of Patroclus.

142. *proseucha.* The name (meaning 'place of prayer') given, in Egypt chiefly, to the places of worship of the Jews, which might either be buildings or in the open air. They were more commonly known as *synagogues* (places of assembly). Judaism was much despised in Rome.

144. *vadimonia faciunt*: as if they were the injured party.

155 ff. Cf. Johnson, London, ll. 238 ff.:

> Scarce can our fields, such crowds at Tyburn die,
> With hemp the gallows and the fleet supply.
> . . . . . .
> A single jail in Alfred's golden reign
> Could half the nation's criminals contain.

V

Ivli iugera pauca Martialis
hortis Hesperidum beatiora
longo Ianiculi iugo recumbunt:
lati collibus eminent recessus
et planus modico tumore vertex
caelo perfruitur sereniore
et curvas nebula tegente valles
solus luce nitet peculiari:
puris leniter admoventur astris
celsae culmina delicata villae.
Hinc septem dominos videre montis
et totam licet aestimare Romam,
Albanos quoque Tusculosque colles
et quodcumque iacet sub urbe frigus,
Fidenas veteres brevesque Rubras,
et quod virgineo cruore gaudet
Annae pomiferum nemus Perennae.
Illinc Flaminiae Salariaeque
gestator patet essedo tacente,
ne blando rota sit molesta somno,
quem nec rumpere nauticum celeuma
nec clamor valet helciariorum,
cum sit tam prope Mulvius sacrumque
lapsae per Tiberim volent carinae.
Hoc rus, seu potius domus vocanda est,
commendat dominus: tuam putabis,
tam non invida tamque liberalis,
tam comi patet hospitalitate:
credas Alcinoi pios Penates
aut facti modo divitis Molorchi.
Vos nunc omnia parva qui putatis,

centeno gelidum ligone Tibur
vel Praeneste domate pendulamque
uni dedite Setiam colono,
dum me iudice praeferantur istis
Iuli ugera pauca Martialis.

MART. iv. 64.

NOTES

Lines 1 f. *Iuli Martialis* : a friend of the poet, not the poet himself.

Hesperidum : see note on B. I. v. 152.

17. *Annae Perennae* : an old Italian goddess, the protector or bestower of the returning year, identified by Ovid (Fast. iii. 523 ff.) with the sister of Dido. On reaching Italy, fearing the jealousy of Aeneas's wife Lavinia, she is said to have thrown herself into the Numicius, and remained there as a nymph. Her annual festival was celebrated with much licence, but the meaning of *virgineo cruore* is not clear.

18. *Flaminiae Salariaeque* : roads leading out of Rome.

29 f. *Alcinoi* : see note on B. I. v. 151.

Molorchi : a poor vine-dresser who entertained Hercules before he slew the Nemean Lion, and was rewarded by a grant of land.

vi

Dvm tu forsitan inquietus erras
clamosa, Iuvenalis, in Subura
aut collem dominae teris Dianae;
dum per limina te potentiorum
sudatrix toga ventilat vagumque
maior Caelius et minor fatigant:
me multos repetita post Decembres
accepit mea rusticumque fecit
auro Bilbilis et superba ferro.
Hic pigri colimus labore dulci
Boterdum Plateamque—Celtiberis
haec sunt nomina crassiora terris—:
ingenti fruor inproboque somno
quem nec tertia saepe rumpit hora,
et totum mihi nunc repono quidquid
ter denos vigilaveram per annos.
Ignota est toga, sed datur petenti
rupta proxima vestis a cathedra.
surgentem focus excipit superba
vicini strue cultus iliceti,
multa vilica quem coronat olla.
venator sequitur, sed ille quem tu
secreta cupias habere silva;
dispensat pueris rogatque longos
levis ponere vilicus capillos.
Sic me vivere, sic iuvat perire.

Mart. xii. 18.

NOTES

Lines 2 ff. *Iuvenalis* : the poet.

Subura : see note on B. III. iv. 5.

collem Dianae : the Aventine, where was the temple of Diana.

per limina &c. refers to the early morning *salutatio*.

7. Martial left Rome in A. D. 98, and was supplied with money for his journey by the younger Pliny (Ep. iii. 21). He had been in Rome since A. D. 64.

9. *Bilbilis*, in Spain.

17. Cf. Juv. iii. 171 f. (B. III. iv. 17 f.).

24 f. Martial let his slaves wear their hair long, as was the fashion in Rome. His steward protests.

vii

C. PLINIVS MINICIO FVNDANO SVO S.

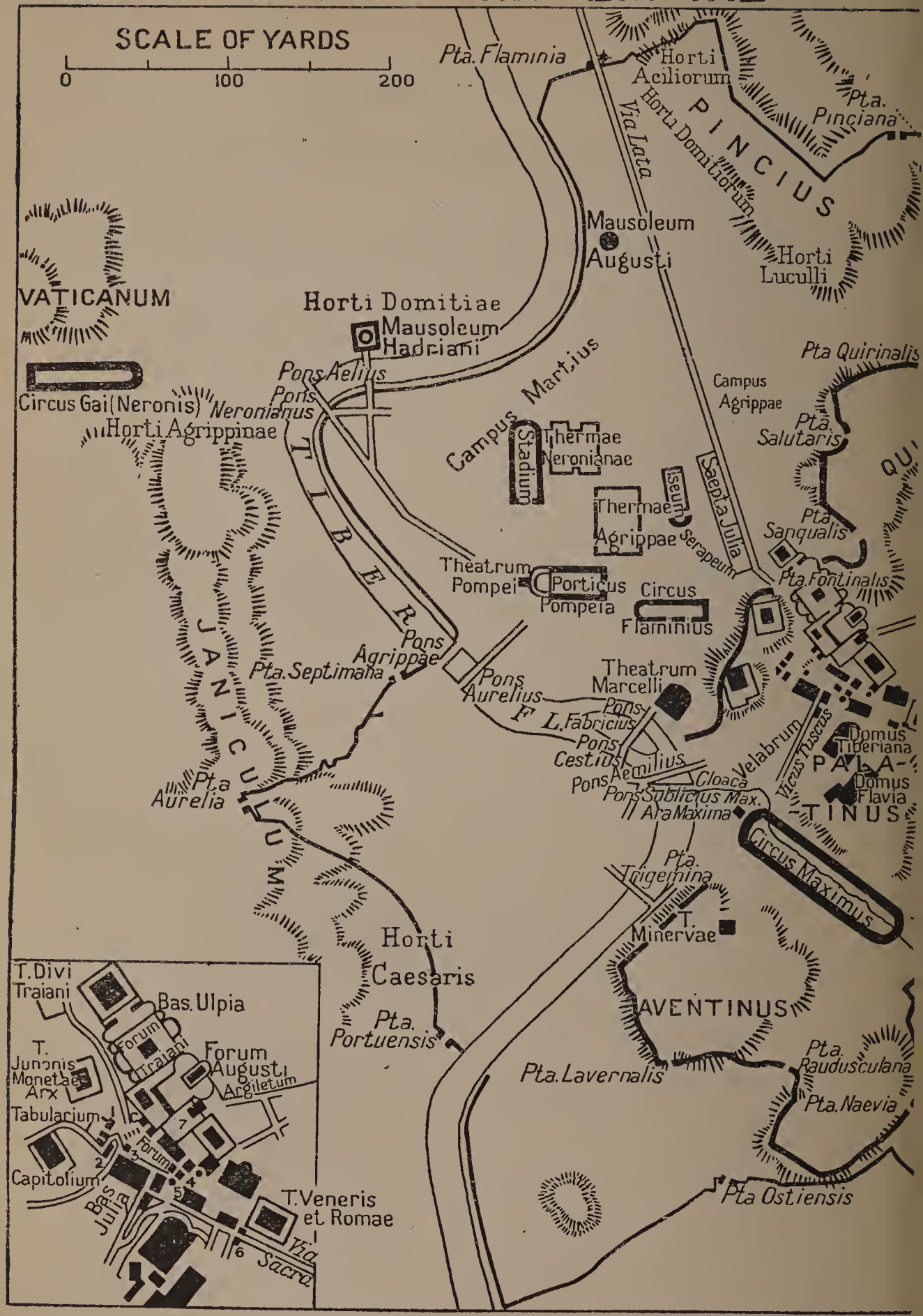
MIRVM est, quam singulis diebus in urbe ratio aut constet aut constare videatur, pluribus iunctisque non constet. Nam, si quem interroges: 'Hodie quid egisti?,' respondeat: 'Officio togae virilis interfui, sponsalia aut nuptias frequentavi, ille me ad signandum testamentum, ille in advocationem, ille in consilium rogavit.' Haec quo die feceris, necessaria, eadem, si cotidie fecisse te reputes, inania videntur, multo magis cum secesseris. Tunc enim subit recordatio: 'Quot dies quam frigidis rebus absumpsi!' Quod evenit mihi, postquam in Laurentino meo aut lego aliquid aut scribo aut etiam corpori vaco, cuius fulturis animus sustinetur. Nihil audio, quod audisse, nihil dico, quod dixisse paeniteat; nemo apud me quemquam sinistris sermonibus carpit, neminem ipse reprehendo, nisi tamen me, cum parum commode scribo; nulla spe, nullo timore sollicitor, nullis rumoribus inquietor, mecum tantum et cum libellis loquor. O rectam sinceramque vitam, o dulce otium honestumque ac paene omni negotio pulchrius! O mare, o litus, verum secretumque *μουσεῖον*, quam multa invenitis, quam multa dictatis! Proinde tu quoque strepitum istum inanemque discursum et multum ineptos labores, ut primum fuerit occasio, relinque teque studiis vel otio trade. Satius est enim, ut Atilius noster eruditissime simul et facetissime dixit, otiosum esse quam nihil agere. Vale.

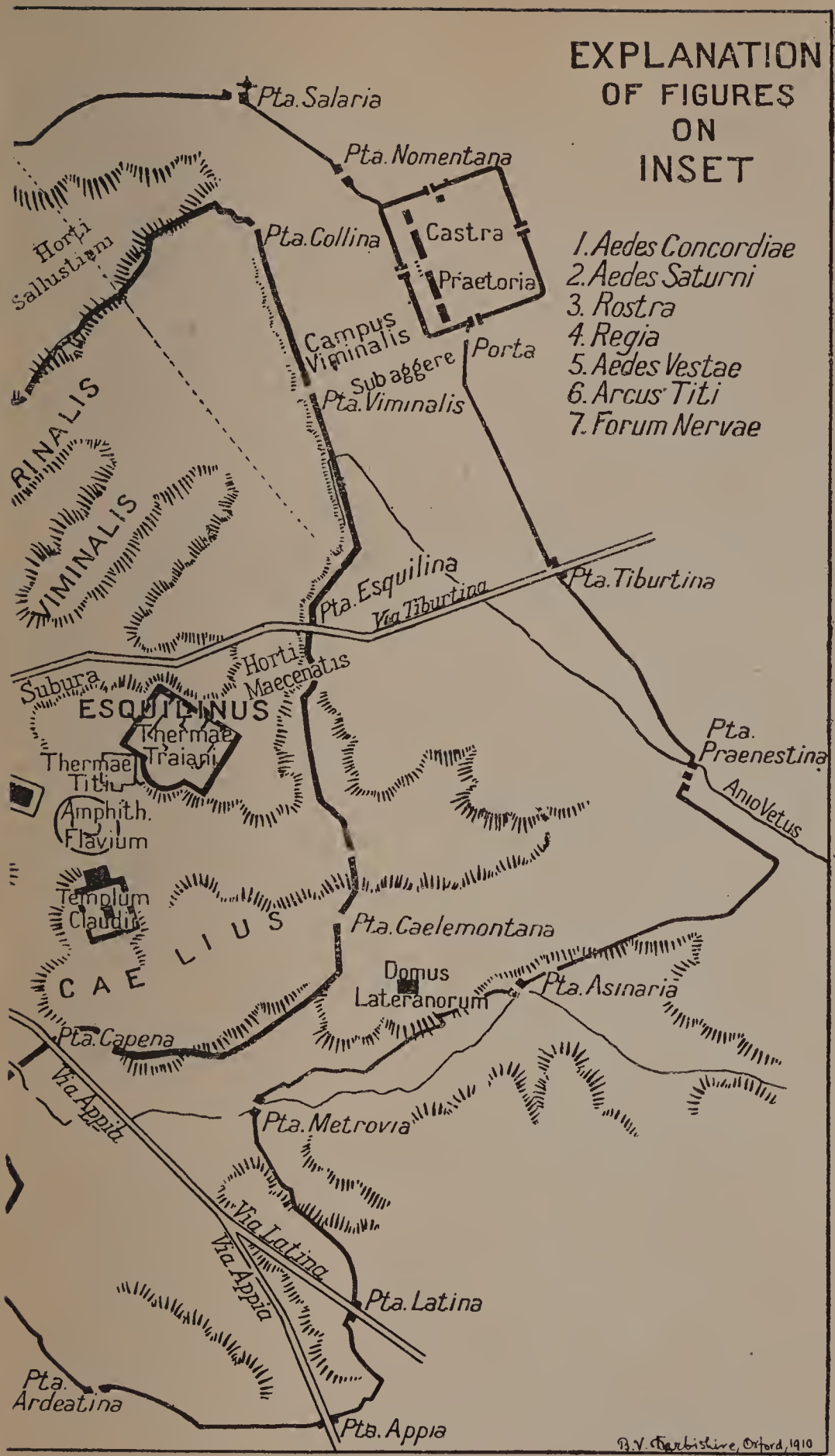
PLIN. *Ep.* i. 9.

NOTES

Line 20. μουσεῖον (museum)=haunt of the Muses.

ROME UNDER THE EARLY EMPIRE




EXPLANATION
OF FIGURES
ON
INSET
1. Aedes Concordiae
2. Aedes Saturni
3. Rostra
4. Regia
5. Aedes Vestae
6. Arcus Titi
7. Forum Nervae
Pta. Salaria
Pta. Nomentana
Pta. Collina
Castra
Praetoria
Horti Sallustiani
Campus Viminalis
Porta Sub aggere
Pta. Viminalis
RINALIS
VIMINALIS
Pta. Esquilina
Via Tiburtina
Pta. Tiburtina
Subura
Horti Maecenatis
ESQUILINUS
Thermae Traiani
Thermae Titi
Amphith. Flavium
Templum Claudii
Pta. Praenestina
Anio Vetus
CAELIUS
Pta. Caelemontana
Domus Lateranorum
Pta. Asinaria
Pta. Capena
Via Appia
Pta. Metrovia
Via Latina
Via Appia
Pta. Latina
Pta. Ardeatina
Pta. Appia
B.V. Darbishire, Oxford, 1910

INDEX NOMINVM

Achaeus I. ii. 4.
Achilles I. ix. 30.
Aegyptius II. iii. 85.
Aeneas I. iii. 63.
Aeneas, parvolus, I. v. 139.
Aethiopes II. iii. 55.
Afrae sorores I. v. 152.
Afri serpentes II. ii. 95.
Africa II. iii. 296.
Africana ficus II. iii. 84.
Agamemnon, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 297, 302, 303, 307.
Alabanda I. ii. 9.
Albanus I. v. 33, III. v. 13.
Albanum *vinum* II. ii. 16.
Alcinous III. v. 29.
Alcon, *servus Graecus*, II. ii. 15.
Alledius I. v. 118.
Allifana, *pocula*, II. ii. 39.
Alpes I. iii. 41.
Amydon I. ii. 8.
Ancus, *Martius*, I. v. 57.
Andros I. ii. 9.
Anna Perenna III. v. 17.
Antaeus I. ii. 28.
Antiochus, *comoedus*, I. ii. 35.
Antonius, *triumvir*, II. viii. 33.
Anxur II. viii. 26.
Apella Iudaeus II. viii. 96.
Apicius pauper I. ix. 3.
Apollo I. i. 78, iii. 60.
Appi Forum II. viii. 3.
Appia, *via*, II. viii. 6.
Apulia II. viii. 77.
Aquilo II. ii. 56, III. i. 25.
Aquinas fucus III. ii. 27.
Archiaci lecti II. iv. 1.
Arellius, *Horati vicinus*, III. i. 78.
Aricia II. viii. 1.
Aristius, *Fuscus*, I. i. 61, III. ii. 44.
Asia I. v. 56, II. iii. 256.
Asianus III. iv. 64.
Asturicus III. iv. 58.
Atabulus, *ventus*, II. viii. 78.
Athenae I. ii. 19, II. iii. 129.
Atlans I. ix. 24.
Atticus, *ardalio*, I. xi. 1, 5.
Atticus, *Ti. Claudius*, I. ix. 1.
Attica virgo II. ii. 13.
Atticum mel II. iii. 128.
Aufidius Luscus II. viii. 34.
Augustus, *mensis*, III. iv. 9.
Aurelia, *ornata femina*, I. iv. 33, 35, 38.
Aurelia, *orba*, I. v. 98.
Auster II. ii. 6, III. i. 18.
Aventinus I. ii. 24.
Aventinus, *collis Dianae*, III. vi. 3.

Baiae I. ix. 49, III. iv. 4.
Balatro Servilius, *Maecenatis umbra*, II. ii. 21, 33, 40, 64, 83.
Barium piscosum II. viii. 93.
Beneventanus sutor, *Vatinius*, I. v. 46.
Beneventum II. v. 71.
Bilbilis III. vi. 9.
Blaesus Velleius I. iv. 22, 30.
Boccar quocum nemo lavatur I. v. 90.
Bolanus, *cerebrosus*, I. i. 11.
Bootes I. v. 23.
Boterdus III. vi. 11.
Bromius II. iii. 191.
Brundisium II. viii. 100.
Bruti, *a Iulio Caesare liberatores*, I. v. 37.

Butra II. iv. 26.

Cacus I. v. 125.
Caecilianus, *clientium dominus*, I. vii. 2.
Caecubum vinum II. ii. 15.
Caelius, maior *mons*, III. vi. 6.
Caelius, minor *mons*, III. vi. 6.
Caesar, *Augustus*, II. iv. 9, III. i. 56.
Caesar, *C. Iulius*, I. i. 18, v. 4.
Caesar, *Domitianus*, II. i. 9.
Campanus II. ii. 56, viii. 45, 62.
Canicula I. iii. 39.
Canidia II. ii. 95.
Canis III. ii. 16.
Cannae II. vii. 8.
Canusi lapidosus panis II. viii. 87.
Capito Fonteius II. viii. 32, 38.
Capua II. viii. 47.
Carpus, *carptor*, II. iii. 97, 100, 105, 170.
Cassius I. v. 37.
Caudium II. viii. 51.
Celtiberus III. vi. 11.
Ceres II. ii. 14.
Cervius, *Horati vicinus*, III. i. 77.
Charybdis I. v. 102.
Chione I. viii. 4.
Chiro III. iv. 51.
Chium, *vinum*, II. ii. 15, 48.
Chrysanthus II. iii. 211.
Cicirrus Messius II. viii. 52, 65.
Claudius, *princeps*, I. v. 147.
Coa faecula II. ii. 9.
Cocceius, *Nerva cos. a. C.* 36, II. viii. 28, 32, 50.
Codrus III. iv. 49, 54.
Coranus I. iii. 57, 64.
Corbulo III. iv. 97.
Corinthius asellus II. iii. 4.
Corsica I. v. 92.
Corybanta de conviva videbis I. v. 25.
Cossus, *nobilis*, III. iv. 30.
Cotilus bellus homo I. x. 1, 13, 14.
Cotta I. v. 109.
Cumae III. iv. 2.
Curtillus II. ii. 52.
Curtius, bucca I. ix. 34.
Cyclopa saltare II. viii. 63.

Daci III. i. 53.
Dama spurcus I. iii. 18, 93.
Dama, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 201.
Davus, *servus comicus*, I. iii. 83.
December III. vi. 7.
Demetrius, *comoedus*, I. ii. 36.
Dindymus II. vi. 11.
Diogenes, C. Pompeius, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 141.
Diomedes II. viii. 88.
Dionysus II. iii. 194.
Doris, *dramatis persona*, I. ii. 33.
Drusus, *Claudius princeps*, III. iv. 84.

Echion, *centonarius*, II. iii. 282.
Elissa I. xiii. 2.
Esquiliae I. ii. 10, v. 78, ix. 51, III. i. 33.
Etruscum aurum I. v. 164.
Euhius II. iii. 191.
Euphemus II. i. 7.
Euphranor III. iv. 63.

Fabrateria III. iv. 70.
Falernum, *vinum*, II. ii. 16, iii. 64.
Fatus malus II. iii. 218.
Feronia II. viii. 24.
Fidenae III. v. 15.
Flaminia, *via*, III. v. 18.
Fonteius Capito II. viii. 32.
Fortuna II. ii. 61, III. i. 49.
Fortunae filius II. iii. 243.
Fortunata, *Trimalchionis uxor*, II. iii. 110.
Forum Appi II. viii. 3.

Frusino III. iv. 70.
Fundanius II. ii. 19.
Furius, *Alpinus*, I. iii. 41.
Fuscus, *Aristius*, I. i. 61, III. ii. 1.

Gabba I. v. 4.
Gabii III. iv. 38.
Gaditana cantica I. x. 5.
Gaditanae II. v. 10.
Gaetulus I. v. 53.
Gaetulus Ganymedes I. v. 59.
Galba, *princeps*, I. iv. 5.
Gallina, *gladiator Thraex*, III. i. 44.
Gallinaria pinus III. iv. 153.
Ganymedes, Gaetulus, I. v. 59.
Ganymedes, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 248.
Gargilianus, *cliens*, I. viii. 2.
Geticae pruinae I. v. 50.
Gnatia, (*Egnatia*), II. viii. 93.
Graeca urbs I. ii. 4.
Graeculus I. ii. 17, II. iii. 130.
Graecus II. iii. 300, viii. 3.

Haemus, *comoedus*, I. ii. 36.
Heliades I. v. 38.
Heliodorus, *rhetor*, II. viii. 2.
Helvidius, *Priscus*, I. v. 36.
Hercules I. ii. 28, v. 125, II. iii. 308, III. i. 13.
Hermogenes I. i. 25.
Hesperidum horti III. v. 2.
Hiberus piscis II. ii. 46.
Hirpinus, *equus*, I. x. 12.
Homerus I. xiii. 4, II. iii. 309.
Horatius III. iii. 5.
Hydaspes, *servus Indus*, II. ii. 14.

Ianiculum III. v. 3.
Ianus III. i. 20.
Iarbas I. v. 45.
Idaeum sollemne II. vii. 2.
Inculoni pilleum rapere II. iii. 139.
India II. iii. 131.
Isaeus I. ii. 13.
Italia III. iv. 17.
Italus III. i. 56.
Ithaca I. iii. 4.
Iudaeus II. viii. 96.
Iuli Martialis, *poetae amicus*, III. v. 1, 36.
Iulius, *mensis*, II. iii. 142.
Iulius Proculus, *Trimalchionis amicus*, II. iii. 156.
Iuppiter I. v. 79, II. iii. 277, 279.
Iuppiter, *Domitianus*, II. i. 12.
Iuvenalis, *poeta*, III. vi. 2.

Laconici canes II. iii. 162.
Laenas, *captator* I. v. 98.
Laertiades I. iii. 59.
Lamia, *Horati amicus*, III. iii. 6.
Lar I. iii. 14, III. i. 66.
Lares II. viii. 66.
Latina, *via*, I. v. 55.
Latinus II. iii. 300.
Laurentinum, *praedium*, III. vii. 11.
Leo III. ii. 16.
Lepos, *mimus*, III. i. 72.
Liber II. iii. 196.
Libitinae quaestus III. i. 19.
Liburnus III. iv. 86.
Libyci lapilli III. ii. 19.
Libye I. v. 119, ix. 25.
Ligurinus, nimis poeta I. xii. 3.
Ligustica saxa III. iv. 103.
Lucanus aper II. ii. 6.
Luna I. xiii. 10.
Luscus Aufidius II. viii. 34.
Lyaeus II. iii. 191.
Lymphae II. viii. 93.

Maecenas I. i. 43, II. ii. 16, 22, viii. 27, 31, 48, III. i. 31, 38, 41.
Maia natus III. i. 5.
Maro, *Vergilius*, I. xiii. 3.

Mars II. iii. 59.
Marsi III. iv. 15.
Martialis Iulius, *poetae amicus*, III. v. 1, 36.
Marsyas II. iii. 93.
Mamurrarum urbs, *Formiae*, II. viii. 37.
Matho, bucca I. ix. 34.
Matutinus pater, *Ianus*, III. i. 20.
Maurus I. ii. 18, v. 53.
Megalesiaca mappa II. vii. 1.
Meleager I. v. 115.
Messius Cicirrus II. viii. 52, 54, 58.
Methymnaea uva II. ii. 50.
Micipsarum canna I. v. 89.
Minerva III. iv. 65.
Minturnae II. iv. 5.
Molorchus III. v. 30.
Molossi canes III. i. 114.
Moschus II. iv. 9.
Mulvius, *pons*, III. v. 23.
Murena, *Licinius*, II. viii. 38.
Musa II. viii. 53.
Mycale, *Trebi uxor*, I. v. 141.

Nasica, *captator*, I. iii. 57, 65, 67.
Nasidienus, *Rufus*, II. ii. 1, 75, 84.
Nero II. vi. 10.
Nili cantica I. x. 5.
Nomentanus, *Nasidieni parasitus*, II. ii. 23, 25, 60.

Opimianum, *vinum*, II. iii. 64, 67.
Orcus I. iii. 49, II. iii. 76.
Orontes in Tiberim defluxit I. ii. 5.
Oscus II. viii. 54.

Palaemon I. xiii. 19.
Parthi I. iii. 62.
Pegasus II. iii. 91.
Pelides III. iv. 126.
Penates III. v. 29.
Perenna Anna III. v. 17.
Persicus, *orbus*, III. iv. 67.
Petrinus, *mons* Sinuessanus, II. iv. 5.
Phaeacum perpetuus autumnus I. v. 151.
Phileros, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 226, 248.
Piso I. v. 109.
Piso quem Galba adoptavit I. iv. 4, 5.
Platea III. vi. 11.
Plotius *Tucca* II. viii. 40.
Polio, *mendicus*, I. ix. 43.
Polyclitus III. iv. 63.
Pompeius Diogenes, *Trimalchionis amicus*, II. iii. 141.
Pomptina palus III. iv. 153.
Porcius, *Nasidieni parasitus*, II. ii. 23.
Praeneste III. iv. 36, v. 33.
Prochyta III. iv. 5.
Procula III. iv. 49.
Proculus, Iulius, *Trimalchionis amicus*, II. iii. 156.
Proserpina I. iii. 102.
Publius, *praenomen*, I. iii. 32.
Punicum malum II. iii. 10.
Puteal III. i. 35.
Pythagorae faba cognata III. i. 63.
Pythagoras, *Neronianus*, II. vi. 10.
Pythagoreus III. iv. 75.

Quintus, *Horatius*, III. i. 37.
Quintus, *praenomen*, I. iii. 32.
Quirinus I. ii. 6.
Quirites I. ii. 3.

Regulus, *delator*, I. iv. 5 *et passim*.
Roma I. v. 90, viii. 2, ix. 46, II. i. 3, viii. 1, III. i. 23, iii. 17, iv. 11, 29.
Roma pilleata II. vi. 4.

Roma uno contenta carcere III. iv. 160.
Romam advectus quo pruna et cottona vento I. ii. 22.
Romam totam circus capit II. vii. 5.
Romam totam licet aestimare III. v. 12.
Romanorum regum frivola I. v. 58.
Roscius, *Horati amicus*, III. i. 35.
Rostra III. i. 50.
Rubi II. viii. 90.
Rubrae III. v. 15.
Rufus, *Nasidienus*, II. ii. 58.
Rutilus, *pauper*, I. ix. 2, 5, 21.

Sabella anus I. i. 29.
Sabella mensa III. iv. 15.
Sabinus II. iv. 27.
Sacra via I. i. 1.
Safinius, *piper non homo*, II. iii. 256.
Saguntina lagona I. v. 29.
Salaria, *via*, III. v. 18.
Sarmata I. ii. 18.
Sarmentus I. v. 3, II. viii. 52, 55, 56.
Samos I. ii. 9.
Saturnalia II. iii. 254.
Saturnus, falcifer senex, II. vi. 1.
Seleucus, *Trimalchionis conviva*, II. iii. 207.
Seneca I. v. 109.
Septicius II. iv. 26.
Servilius Balatro, *Maecenatis umbra*, II. ii. 21.
Setia III. v. 34.
Setinus I. v. 34.
Sibylla III. iv. 3.
Sicilia II. iii. 295.
Siculus I. v. 100.
Sicyon alta I. ii. 8.
Sidonium ostrum III. ii. 26.
Silvanus I. xiii. 14.
Sinuessa II. viii. 40.
Sinuessanus, *mons* Petrinus, II. iv. 5.
Sora III. iv. 69.
Stratocles, *comoedus*, I. ii. 36.
Subura I. v. 106, ix. 51, III. iv. 5, vi. 2.
Syriaca pruna II. iii. 10.
Syrus I. ii. 5.
Syrus, *gladiator*, III. i. 44.

Tarentini II. iii. 295.
Tarentum II. iii. 128.
Tarracinienses II. iii. 294.
Tauromenitanae rupes I. v. 93.
Taurus, *Statilius*, *iterum cos. a. C.* 26, II. iv. 4.
Thais, *dramatis persona*, I. ii. 32.
Thalia II. i. 12.
Thebae I. iii. 76.
Thersites I. ix. 31.
Thraex, *gladiator*, III. i. 44.
Thrasea *Paetus*, I. v. 36.
Thrax I. ii. 18.
Thurinus Viscus II. ii. 20.
Tiberinus, *piscis*, I. v. 104.
Tiberis I. i. 18, III. v. 24.
in Tiberim defluxit Orontes I. ii. 5.
Tibur III. iv. 38, v. 32.
Tiresias I. iii. 1.
Torquatus, *Horati amicus*, II. iv. 3.
Triquetra, *Sicilia*, III. i. 55.
Tralles I. ii. 9.
Trebius I. v. 19, 135.
Trimalchio II. iii. 2 *et passim*.
Trivicum II. viii. 79.
Troia I. iii. 18.
Tullus, *Hostilius*, I. v. 57.
Tusculus III. v. 13.
Tyrrhenus piscis I. v. 96.

Vacuna III. ii. 49.

Varia, *oppidum*, III. iii. 3.
Varius I. i. 23, II. ii. 21, 63, viii. 40, 89.
Vatinius, sutor Beneventanus, I. v. 46.
Vcalegon III. iv. 45.
Veiento *Fabricius* III. iv. 31.
Velleius Blaesus I. iv. 22.
Venafranum, *oleum*, I. v. 86.
Venafri oleum II. ii. 45.
Venetus cucullus III. iv. 16.
Ventidius, *lautus*, I. ix. 22.
Verania, Pisonis *uxor*, I. iv. 4.
Vergilius, *Maro*, I. xiii. 2, II. viii. 40, 48.
Vestae *templum*, I. i. 35.
Vibidius, *Maecenatis umbra*, II. ii. 22, 33, 40, 80.
Viminalis, dictus a vimine collis, I. ii. 10.
Virro I. v. 39, 43, 99, 128, 134, 149, 156.
Viscus I. i. 22.
Viscus Thurinus II. ii. 20.
Vlixes I. iii. 92, ix. 31, II. iii. 309.
Volsinii III. iv. 37.
Vulcanus II. viii. 74.

Printed in England at the Oxford University Press

Date Due

9-17-37	Mr. Holland S.J.		
1/31/40	Fr Shea		
3-3-49	Mr. Gruskowski		
JUL -8 '55	A88 66		

BOSTON COLLEGE
3 9031 01145569 8

14746

Brown, A.C.B. ed.
Author
Selection from the Latin
Title

14746

Brown

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
UNIVERSITY HEIGHTS
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

Books may be kept for two weeks and may be renewed for the same period, unless reserved.

Two cents a day is charged for each book kept overtime.

If you cannot find what you want, ask the Librarian who will be glad to help you.

The borrower is responsible for books drawn on his card and for all fines accruing on the same.